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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

WHITE PAPER
ON
THE PUNJAB AGITATION

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INTRODUCTION

Punjab has been the scene of a series of agitations during the last three years. Four distinct factors were noticeably at work. Even though at times they seemed to be independent of one another, in the ultimate analysis they combined to produce a complex web of violence and terror that threatened to undermine the social, political and economic stability not only of Punjab but the whole country. These factors were :

- The agitations sponsored by the Shiromani Akali Dal¹ in support of certain demands which had been submitted to Government and on which negotiations were in progress;
- A stridently communal and extremist movement which degenerated into open advocacy of violence and sanction for the most heinous crimes against innocent and helpless citizens and against the State;
- Secessionist and anti-national activities with the declared objective of establishing an independent State for the Sikhs with external support; and
- Involvement of criminals, smugglers, other anti-social elements and Naxalites who took advantage of the situation for their own ends.

2. The ideological underpinning for the demand for a separate Sikh State was provided by certain members of the Sikh community in foreign countries. Secessionist activities in India

¹ A political party of the Sikhs.

were fuelled by inflammatory utterances of Shri Amrik Singh, Shri Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and a few others. Even though the Akali Dal leadership did not put forward any specific demand of a secessionist nature, its ambiguity on the concept of Sikh separatism provided a respectable cover for subversive and anti-national forces to operate in the secure knowledge that they would not be politically disowned. Their ambivalence and, on occasion, their use of the concept and phraseology of the separatist movement contributed to the political confusion in the State.

3. The tactics employed by the secessionist and terrorist groups were: systematic campaign to create bitterness and hatred between Sikhs and Hindus; indoctrination in the ideology of separatism in militant terms behind the facade of gurmat camps¹; training in the use of modern weaponry; use of terrorism against specific targets in the police and the administration of Punjab; preparation of "hit lists" of those who disagreed and organising their murder; random killing of persons of a particular community aimed at creating terror and instigating communal violence; stockpiling of arms and ammunition in places of worship; utilisation of smugglers and anti-social elements for procuring supplies of arms, ammunition and for looting banks, jewellery shops and individual homes; and obtaining covert and overt support from external sources. All this they did by lodging themselves within the holy precincts of the Golden Temple and other gurdwaras² throughout Punjab and elsewhere. Government's reluctance to send police forces into gurdwaras out of deference to the religious sentiments of the Sikh community was fully exploited. These elements misused sacred places of worship to direct and commit acts of murder, sabotage, arson and loot. Their actions plunged Punjab into disorder and anarchy, giving rise to a sense of deep insecurity among law abiding sections of the population. There was real

¹ Camps held for expounding the religious doctrines of the Sikhs.

² Sikh temples.

danger of rupture between different communities. Conditions of insurgency were fast emerging, seriously threatening the country's unity and territorial integrity.

4. The essence of the problem in Punjab was not the demands put forward by the Akali Dal in 1931 but the maturing of a secessionist and anti-national movement, with the active support of a small number of groups operating from abroad. The Akali Dal leadership allowed the initiative and control over the agitation to pass out of their hands. They lacked the will to arrive at a settlement on the basis of any reasonable framework offered by Government. Hesitation, second thoughts, unwillingness to come to definite conclusions in a spirit of give and take and to deal with the pressures of militancy which was based on unabashed communalism, characterised their attitude. Negotiations were time and again frustrated just when the prospects of settlement seemed near. Even in the week preceding the calling in of the Army in aid of civil authority, Government made one more effort to reach a settlement through discussions with the Akali Dal leadership, but found their position more rigid than before.

5. The terrorists escalated their violence. With each passing day the situation worsened. The subversive activities of groups inside the Golden Temple complex had assumed menacing proportions in the context of India's security environment. The influence of external forces, with deep-rooted interest in the disintegration of India, was becoming evident. The Government were convinced that this challenge to the security, unity and integrity of the country could not be met by the normal law and order agencies at the disposal of the State. It was in these circumstances that the decision was taken to call the Army in. Government have affirmed, in the only way open to them, the imperatives of national integrity against all forms of separatism.

6. This paper is intended to give an account of Government's responses to the various demands put forward by the Shiromani Akali Dal, the mounting acts of terrorism and violence in Punjab, the activities of Sikh separatists abroad, and the operations undertaken by the Army to remove terrorists, criminals and their weapons from sacred places of worship. Some issues which have arisen in this context are also briefly discussed.

II

DEMANDS OF THE SHIROMANI AKALI DAL AND GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

The agitation started by the Akali Dal was originally in support of a set of demands. In September 1981 the Akali Dal forwarded to the Government a list of 45 demands (Annexure I). In October 1981 they submitted a revised list of 15 demands (Annexure II).

2. Some of these demands had their origin in a resolution adopted by the Akali Dal at a meeting held at Anandpur Sahib on October 16 and 17, 1973, generally known as the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. This Resolution *inter alia* states:

“the areas which have been taken away from Punjab or have been intentionally kept apart e.g. Dalhousie from District Gurdaspur, Chandigarh, Pinjore, Kalka and Ambala City in District Ambala, whole Una Tehsil¹ of Hoshiarpur district, Desh Ilaqa² of Nalagarh, Shahbad block of District Karnal, sub Tehsils of Guhla and Tohana, Rattia Block of District Hissar and Sirsa Tehsil, 6 Tehsils of District Ganganagar of Rajasthan and the contiguous Punjabi speaking Sikh-populated areas, should be immediately merged with Punjab under one administrative unit”.

¹ An administrative unit of a district.

² Area.

The Resolution further states :

“in this new Punjab, the Central intervention should be restricted to Defence, Foreign Affairs, Posts and Telegraphs, Currency and Railways”.

3. A different version of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was put forth by the Akali Dal (Talwandi Group) at a World Sikh Convention in Anandpur Sahib in April 1981. This Resolution states *inter alia*:

“an Autonomous Region in the North of India should be set up forthwith wherein the Sikhs’ interests are constitutionally recognised as of primary and special importance”.

and

“the Sikh Autonomous Region may be conceded and declared as entitled to frame its own Constitution and basis of having all powers to and from itself except foreign relations, defence and general communications”.

4. Yet another version of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution authenticated by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of the Akali Dal, was issued in November 1982 (Annexure III). This version asks for the merger of all Punjabi speaking areas “to constitute a single administrative unit where the interests of Sikhs and Sikhism are specially protected”.

5. On receipt of the Akali Dal’s demands, the Prime Minister invited representatives of the Akali Dal to a meeting on October 16, 1981. Thereafter the Prime Minister met them again on two occasions in November 1981 and April 1982. The process of consultation and discussion has not been interrupted by the Government since then. There have been several rounds of talks between representatives of Government and the Akali Dal leaders, both open and secret

as well as tripartite discussions in which leaders of Opposition parties in Parliament also participated (Annexure IV).

6. Throughout these discussions Government's attitude was, as the Prime Minister said in her broadcast to the nation on June 2, 1984, one of accommodation of all reasonable demands. Government did not approach the negotiations in any narrow party interest. The larger national considerations of preserving the unity and integrity of the country were the guiding principles followed by Government. Wherever the demands did not involve other States or where they could be integrated into a wider framework, there was no hesitation in accepting them.

7. The main issues discussed with the Akali Dal representatives fall into three broad categories, viz.,

- (i) those which concern the Sikh community as a religious group,
- (ii) those which relate to other States besides Punjab, and
- (iii) general issues.

(i) Demands which concern the Sikh community as a religious group

8. The religious demands finally put forward by the Akali Dal were:

- (a) Grant of 'holy city' status to Amritsar on the pattern of Hardwar, Kashi and Kurukshetra;
- (b) Installation of 'Harmandir Radio' at the Golden Temple to relay kirtan¹;

¹ Recitation of scriptures, singing of hymns (with or without musical accompaniment).

- (c) Permission to Sikhs travelling by air to wear kirpans on domestic and international flights; and
- (d) Enactment of All India Gurdwara Act.

(a) Grant of 'holy city' status to Amritsar

9. With regard to the demand for grant of 'holy city' status to Amritsar, it was pointed out to the Akali Dal representatives at the very beginning that the precedents they cited did not exist, as Government had not conferred 'holy city' status on the cities mentioned or any other city. However, restrictions on the sale of meat or liquor in demarcated areas of cities like Hardwar and Kurukshetra had been imposed by the local authorities or state Governments in deference to the susceptibilities of pilgrims. There are no restrictions in Kashi (Varanasi). It was indicated that action could be taken on these lines in Amritsar also. The Prime Minister suggested a committee could go into this question to recommend a suitable line of action. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)² showed no interest in cooperating with the concerned authorities in this matter.

10. On February 27, 1983, the Prime Minister, while making certain announcements with regard to the religious demands, stated that the sale of tobacco, liquor and meat would be banned in a demarcated area around the Golden Temple as well as the Durgiana Temple³ in Amritsar. In pursuance of this announcement, shops selling tobacco, liquor and meat within a radius of 200 metres of Harmandir Sahib⁴ and Durgiana Temple have already been shifted. Signboard

¹ A sword which Sikhs are enjoined upon to keep or wear.

A body established under Sikh Gurdwaras Act 1925, to manage certain specified gurdwaras and to superintend the work of Committees of Management of gurdwaras notified under the Act.

³ Name of a Hindu Temple at Amritsar.

The Golden Temple at Amritsar.

to this effect have also since been put up. Despite this, the Akali Dal has recently again raised its demand for grant of 'holy city' status to Amritsar and asked for a ban on the sale of tobacco, liquor and meat in the entire walled city of Amritsar. The grant of 'holy city' status as such to any city would not be in keeping with the secular nature of our Constitution.

(b) Installation of transmitter station at the Golden Temple

11. During discussions with the representatives of the Akali Dal, Government pointed out that private radio broadcasting facilities are not allowed to any group anywhere in the country as a matter of national policy. However, the Government offered to arrange for direct relay of shabad kirtan from the Golden Temple through the Jalandhar station of All India Radio. The Akali Dal representatives then insisted that such relays should be allowed for two hours in the morning and one hour in the evening. Government announced its readiness to allow relays of kirtan for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the morning and $\frac{1}{2}$ hour in the evening and instructed the All India Radio authorities to make necessary arrangements for this in consultation with the SGPC. The SGPC, however, did not extend the requisite facilities and insisted on the relay being for a minimum duration of three hours. The Home Minister, in his statement of June 22, 1983, suggested that the question of timing and duration could be discussed but a beginning might be made immediately with the relay of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the morning. However, no progress could be made due to lack of cooperation from the SGPC authorities. Relay of kirtan has since commenced from Harmandir Sahib with effect from June 8, 1984.

(c) Carrying Kirpans on flights

12. The Akali Dal demanded that Sikhs travelling by air should be permitted to carry kirpans on domestic as well as international

Recitation from the Holy Book of the Sikhs.

flights. Although the Government have always respected the constitutional provision recognising the wearing of kirpans by Sikhs, certain restrictions had been imposed on carrying kirpans on flights after the hijacking incident of September 1981. However, in deference to the sentiments of the Sikh community, instructions were issued in February 1983 permitting Sikh passengers to carry kirpans which do not exceed 22.8 cms (9") in length and whose blade length does not exceed 15.24 cms (6") on domestic flights. The Akali Dal representatives agreed to this.

As regards international flights, it was explained that Air India cannot act independently as it is bound by international regulations and conventions about the carrying of weapons.

(d) All India Gurdwara Act

13. The Akali Dal's demand for the enactment of an All India Gurdwara Act, bringing all historical gurdwaras situated in different parts of the country under the purview of one administration has wide ranging implications. In various meetings Government told the Akali Dal leaders that they would be willing to consider the suggestion subject to consultations with other interested parties and the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. On February 27, 1983 the Prime Minister announced that Governments of the States where the gurdwaras are located and the managements of the gurdwaras would be consulted to arrive at the consensus needed for enacting such a legislation. The Akali Dal did not give any definitive list of historical gurdwaras proposed to be brought under the purview of this legislation. At different meetings, different numbers of such gurdwaras were given, ranging from 10 to 30.

14. Government have received a large number of representations from many sections of the people against such legislation. Some of the committees managing historical gurdwaras outside Punjab

have also expressed their unwillingness to bring these gurdwaras under SGPC control. In undertaking any such legislation, Government would have to keep in mind the views of other interested parties and the State Governments concerned. However, without appreciating the inherent difficulties, the Akali Dal continues to blame the Government for the delay.

(ii) Disputes which relate to other States besides Punjab

(a) River waters

15. The agreement on the allocation of surplus waters of Ravi-Beas reached in December 1981 was the result of exhaustive discussions among the representatives of the Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan Governments and of the Central Government. Later water flow series showed the availability of Ravi-Beas surplus waters to be 17.17 MAF against the earlier estimated availability of 15.85 MAF. This meant that some additional quantity of water became allocable to pre-partition Punjab which could be shared between Punjab and Haryana. According to the 1981 Agreement the additional water allocable to pre-partition Punjab was allotted to Punjab alone. In the final allocation made between the two States under the 1981 agreement the share of Punjab was raised to 4.22 MAF and the share of Haryana was retained at 3.50 MAF. In addition, out of Rajasthan's share, until such time as Rajasthan was in a position to utilise its full share, Punjab was allowed to use water which was surplus to Rajasthan's requirements.

16. During the tripartite talks held in January-February 1983 in New Delhi, the representatives of the Akali Dal pressed their view that the allocation of waters under the 1955 Agreement between pre-partition Punjab and Rajasthan should be reopened on the ground that Rajasthan had been given more than it was entitled to.

17. It was pointed out to the representatives of the Akali Dal that after the partition of India, the distribution of waters of the rivers of the Punjab remained an unresolved issue between India and Pakistan, and Pakistan had argued that India was not in a position to utilise the waters it claimed. The settlement about India's share of Indus waters was reached accepting the validity of India's claim that water would be utilised to irrigate the arid and dry lands of the Indus basin in Rajasthan. On the basis of the Agreement of 1955, Rajasthan has built a vast infra-structure at a cost of over Rs. 600 crores (Rs. 6,000 million) and therefore it was explained that it would not be correct to reopen this issue nearly three decades after the Agreement. In the tripartite meetings held in early February, 1983, to which Akali Dal representatives were a party, a consensus emerged that the 1955 agreement should not be re-opened in any reference that may be made to a tribunal for the settlement of the River Waters dispute between Punjab and Haryana.

18. During the discussions on the river waters dispute the representatives of the Akali Dal have been insisting that Yamuna waters should also be taken into account. Punjab's rights as a successor State of the erstwhile undivided Punjab have been delineated under the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966 in which the waters of Yamuna are not included and the Government therefore maintained that the Yamuna waters were not an issue to be included in the terms of reference to the tribunal.

19. After a series of protracted discussions and taking into account the views of the States of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan the following formula for settling the river waters issue was put to the Akali Dal representatives :

- (1) The Agreement of December 31, 1981 between the Governments of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan regarding allocation of surplus flows of the Ravi-Beas will be treated as rescinded.

The Notification of the Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Department of Irrigation, dated March 24, 1976 under Sub-Section 1 of Section 78 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act 1966 will be treated as withdrawn.

- (2) The dispute between Punjab and Haryana with reference to the surplus waters of Ravi-Beas will be referred to a tribunal presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court to be appointed under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956, to determine afresh the allocation between the two States.
- (3) Pending the final decision of the tribunal, the allocation of water between Punjab and Haryana will be decided on a year to year basis by the said tribunal.
- (4) The Tribunal will be requested to give its decision within a period of two years. The decision of the tribunal shall be final and binding on the two States.
- (5) Punjab shall take immediate steps to construct the Sutlej-Yamuna canal and complete it within a period of two years.
- (6) Suitable legal and administrative steps will be taken expeditiously to implement the above.

20. However, later the Akali Dal representatives resiled from the consensus reached earlier and took the stand that the scope of the reference to the tribunal should cover the 1955 Agreement with Rajasthan and the question of the Yamuna waters. Obviously, this was unacceptable to the Central Government as well as to the Governments of Haryana and Rajasthan.

21. In one of the meetings with the representatives of the Akali Dal, the Prime Minister had assured them that the interests of Punjab

would not be affected and she suggested that a committee of experts should go into the whole question of augmenting the availability of water in the basin and that Government would give priority consideration to its recommendations. Even these assurances had no effect in changing the rigid position of the Akali Dal representatives on this issue.

(b) Territorial Issue

22. The demand regarding territories proved to be the most contentious. It will be recalled that in 1966 the Shah Commission had recommended that Chandigarh be given to Haryana. However in 1970, Smt. Indira Gandhi, as Prime Minister, announced that Chandigarh would go to Punjab. Under this decision—

- (1) The Capital project area of Chandigarh would go to Punjab;
- (2) A part of Fazilka Tehsil (including Abohar) of Ferozepur District of Punjab would be transferred to Haryana; and
- (3) As regards other claims and counter-claims for the re-adjustment of inter-state boundaries, a Commission would be appointed.

The above decision could not, however, be implemented because of the subsequent change in the attitude in the State.

23. The present demand is that while Chandigarh should be immediately transferred to Punjab, all other claims and counter claims, including those relating to Abohar and Fazilka, should be referred to a Commission.

24. The Government have done their utmost to be helpful, without being unfair to either State, and have announced their willingness to abide by any one of the following four alternatives:

- (1) Implementation of the 1970 decision;
- (2) Referring all disputes and claims including Chandigarh to a new Commission;
- (3) Dividing Chandigarh between Punjab and Haryana, with Punjab getting the major share, and referring the remaining disputes to a Commission; or
- (4) Adopting any other alternative acceptable to both States.

Within the above framework, a large number of different formulations were proposed. But none of them was acceptable to the Akali Dal leadership. The Prime Minister had repeatedly declared in Parliament that the Government stood by its decision that Chandigarh should go to Punjab provided that Haryana was suitably compensated.

25. As late as on June 2, 1984 the Prime Minister in her broadcast to the nation, reiterated that Chandigarh would go to Punjab provided Haryana gets its share of some Hindi speaking areas which are now in Punjab. The position of the representatives of the Akali Dal on this issue has remained unchanged, viz. that Government should transfer Chandigarh to Punjab and refer all other claims and counter-claims, including those on Abohar-Fazilka to a Commission, to be decided on the basis of village as the unit and language and contiguity as the principle. The Haryana Government was willing to give up its claim on Chandigarh, but wanted transfer of territory from Punjab on the basis of the 1970 decision or on any other basis which could be arrived at by mutual agreement. The stalemate on this issue continues.

26. It will be seen from the extracts from the Anandpur Sahib Resolution quoted earlier in this paper, that the Akali Dal has claims on certain territories in Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh on the ground that they are "Punjabi speaking Sikh populated areas". It was made clear to the Akali Dal representatives that any settlement on territorial issues with Haryana would have to be on the basis of a commitment from them that they would not press any more claims on territories belonging to other States.

(iii) General Issues

(a) Centre-State Relations

27. The Akali Dal demand on Centre-State relations reads as follows:

"As per the Anandpur Sahib resolution, the S.A. Dal¹ is firmly convinced that progress of States would entail prosperity of the Centre, for which suitable amendments should be made in the Constitution to give more rights and provincial autonomy to States. The Centre should retain Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency and Communications (including means of transport) while the remaining portfolios should be with the States. Besides, the Sikhs should enjoy special rights as a nation."

28. The question of Centre-State relations has wider all-India implications and cannot be discussed exclusively in the context of Punjab. This position was widely accepted by Opposition leaders during the tripartite discussions in January-February 1983. It was specifically mentioned during the discussions that decision in this regard could not conceivably be related to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

¹Shiromani Akali Dal.

29. Recognising the importance of the subject, the Government set up in June 1983, a Commission under the Chairmanship of Shri Justice Ranjit Singh Sarkaria to examine and review the work of the existing arrangements between the Union and the States in regard to powers, functions and responsibilities in all spheres and recommend such changes or other measures as may be appropriate. The Commission was to keep in view the scheme and framework of the Constitution designed to ensure the unity and integrity of the country. The Government's decision to initiate such a comprehensive review of Centre-State relations should have satisfied the Akali Dal, as it did other Opposition parties which had also raised this issue. But the Akali Dal was adamant that Government should make specific mention of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution while referring the matter to the Sarkaria Commission.

In fact in a Tripartite meeting the Akali Dal representatives had agreed not to press this but later in his letter to the Home Minister, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of the Akali Dal reiterated the demand.

30. The position of the Government has been stated unambiguously on more than one occasion. The propositions contained in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution on Centre-State relations are at total variance with the basic concept of the unity and integrity of the nation as expressed in our Constitution. These cannot be accepted even as a basis for discussion.

31. The people of India do not accept the proposition that India is a multi-national society. The Indian people constitute one nation. India has expressed through her civilisation over the ages, her strong underlying unity in the midst of diversity of language, religion etc. The affirmation of India's nationhood after a long and historic confrontation with imperialism does not brook any challenge. However, Government have made it clear to the representatives of the Akali Dal that it is open to them to make any submissions it wishes before the Sarkaria Commission within its terms of reference.

(b) Other Demands

32. Among their other demands, the Akali Dal representatives emphasized the following two as issues of special concern to them :

- (i) Grant of Second language status to Punjabi language in Haryana, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan.
- (ii) Stopping the uprooting of Punjabi farmers from Terai area of Uttar Pradesh.

(i) Second language status for Punjabi language

33. The Akali Dal has been demanding that in areas of Haryana and Rajasthan where there is a sizeable Punjabi speaking population, Punjabi should be taught as a second language in schools. During the talks, the Akali Dal leaders elaborated that whereas in Punjab, Hindi is taught in schools from the Fifth standard, in Haryana, languages like Telugu or Sanskrit have been chosen under the three-language formula.

When they raised this issue, the three-language formula agreed at the Chief Ministers' Conference in 1961 was explained to them and it was suggested that the Chief Ministers concerned should be able to arrive at a workable solution.

34. The States have already taken various measures and the position is as follows :

Primary stage

Orders exist in Delhi, Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh for provision of facilities to teach Punjabi at the primary level by appointing atleast one teacher, provided there are not less than 40 pupils who are desirous of learning that language in the whole school or 10 such pupils in a class.

Secondary stage

The State Governments are following the three-language formula as accepted by the Chief Ministers. Instructions of the State Governments exist in Delhi, Rajasthan and Haryana for provision of facilities to teach the Punjabi language under this formula.

(ii) Punjabi farmers in the Terai region of Uttar Pradesh

35. The Akali Dal representatives complained that Sikh farmers in Terai were being 'uprooted', 'ejected' and 'arrested'. The State Government have denied this. They have said that their policy was to discourage unauthorised occupation of tribal land and that no orders had been issued to eject or uproot lawful landholders of whatever origin. They have pointed out that out of approximately 7860 unauthorised occupants, more than 5000 were from UP itself, and one common policy was being followed with regard to all such persons. The principal object of the State legislation on this subject was to prevent further alienation of tribal land and to restore to them the land they had lost. Before 1947 the Tharu and Buxar tribes were cultivating about 2.25 lakh acres (0.225 million acres) of land in the Terai-Bhabar area of District Nainital. This position had gradually changed to the disadvantage of the tribals and they were now recorded as tenure holders of only about 0.80 lakh acres, of which also they had lost possession of another 16,500 acres to non-tribals. The State Government took action in this context to protect tribal interests.

36. It was explained to the Akali Dal leaders that almost every State had framed legislation in pursuance of the accepted policy of preventing alienation of tribal land. In any event, the UP Government had specifically directed the District Magistrates to take action only in accordance with the principles of natural justice and within the framework of the law.

(c) Amendment of Article 25(2)(b) of the Constitution

37. Even as the negotiations were continuing on the various demands placed before Government earlier by the Akali Dal, the Akali Dal raised a completely new demand in January 1984 asking for an amendment of Article 25(2)(b) of the Constitution¹ and almost simultaneously announced an agitation which included the burning and mutilation of copies of the Constitution of India.

38. Even in March 1984, when the Akali Dal first mentioned this demand in a communication to the Government, the purport of the amendment sought was not clarified. The fact that the Akali Dal had not precisely formulated its own views is evident from the press reports of May 1, 1984 that the SGPC President had constituted a 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments to Article 25.

¹Article 25 of the Constitution reads as follows:—

(1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

(b) providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

Explanation I—The wearing and carrying of Kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation II—In sub-clause (b) of clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

39. Government maintain that Article 25 (2) (b), far from weakening the distinct identity of the Sikh community was in fact a recognition of that identity. Nevertheless, since doubts had been raised, the Home Minister issued a statement on March 31, 1984 that the Government would be prepared to consult the SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh community as well as legal experts, and undertake such legislation by way of amendment as may be necessary to remove such doubts. The SGPC was also invited to send its suggestions or proposals in this regard in order to enable the Government to give further consideration. The Akali Dal leaders arrested in connection with the agitation for the amendment to Article 25 were released from jail so as to create a more congenial climate for a dialogue.

The Akali Dal also sought to link the demand for the amendment of Article 25 with the idea of a separate personal law for the Sikhs. However no proposals have been given to the Government for consideration, nor is it clear as to what changes are wanted in the existing laws and for what reasons.

40. The timing and manner in which the Government was pressed to accept the demand to amend Article 25 of the Constitution are typical of the Akali Dal's approach to negotiations. When after protracted discussions an agreement appeared to have been reached on some issues, new issues were raised, thereby frustrating any possibility of a settlement. The demands were often put forward without the Akali Dal having worked out all the relevant implications for the Sikh community itself. The Akali Dal appeared to want to keep an agitation going on some issue or other. Every few months there was a call for a new morcha¹ or bandh², each new agitation being more violent and dangerous than the previous one.

¹A military term for "battle front" or "battle array"—implying a vigorous agitation.

²Blockade or cessation of specified activities.

41. The comprehensive statement made by the Home Minister on February 28, 1984 regarding the negotiations with the Akali Dal and the Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation on June 2, 1984 are at Annexure (v) and Annexure (vi) respectively.

III

TERROR AND VIOLENCE IN PUNJAB

The violence associated with the sectarian feud between some fundamentalist Sikhs and Nirankaris¹, was the starting point of the tragic events in Punjab. There were killings in the clashes of April 1978 and later, climaxed by the assassination of Baba Gurbachan Singh, the spiritual head of the Nirankaris on April 24, 1980. Thereafter, dogmatism and extremism, accompanied by terror and violence, were to overwhelm the political life of Punjab. The consequences of this determined assault on society cannot be measured simply in terms of the number of people killed or injured. The whole thrust of extremist violence was to fragment the people of Punjab and destroy their common culture.

Structure of violence

2. It is paradoxical that communal separatism should have become an integral part of a movement that was started in the name of grievances of all Punjabis, irrespective of their religion. This outcome was dictated by the interaction of the forces at work. The agitation of the Akali Dal, the virulent communalism bred by extremism and the secessionist and anti-national activities of a small group, largely supported by external elements, formed a symbiotic relationship. Added to this was the combination of several disparate groups and individuals such as smugglers, other criminals and Naxalites

¹Followers of a religious sect which preaches the concept of one formless God (Nirankar) and believes that He can be realized only with the help of a living Guru.

who took advantage of the unsettled conditions. Many who thought that the political aspect could be isolated from the problems of terrorism and secessionism overlooked the complex and changing pattern of these relationships. However, the politics of extremist violence have their own dynamic. It is only a matter of time before they subjugate other tendencies. This has happened before, and it is not surprising that in Punjab also violence and terror gained the upper hand.

3. Not only did the Akali Dal not disapprove the merciless killings of those who did not agree with the objectives and the methods of murder, arson and loot, it persistently refused to acknowledge the close connection between its agitational programme and the violence which was enveloping the whole State. In spite of professing Hindu-Sikh amity, it did not denounce the poisonous propaganda of communal fanatics. The misuse of the Golden Temple and other shrines to accumulate large quantities of arms and ammunition, to shelter murderers and criminals, and to make detailed preparations for subversion and insurgency was not condemned by the Akali Dal leadership who even denied the very existence of such activities.

4. The structure of violence in Punjab was built, step by step, by an aggressive group that knew its mind and was confident that the political leadership spearheading the agitation would not call it to account.

5. Even before the Akali Dal submitted its demands to Government, the All India Sikh Students Federation(AISSF) and other organisations were holding rallies and processions in Amritsar. Slogans of "Khalistan Zindabad"¹ were raised and communal tension was deliberately generated. Soon thereafter, Lala Jagat Narain was murdered in September 1981 because of his criticism of the murders of Nirankaris. Shri Bhindranwale was arrested on September 20,

¹Long live.

1981 in connection with the murder. There was large scale violence in which police were attacked with deadly weapons near Chowk Mehta. The police resorted to firing which a judicial enquiry found to be justified. The same day four persons were killed in Jalandhar and several injured by a gang of motorcycle riders. Thus started the cult of random killings by motorcyclists which was to plague Punjab for the next three years. On September 29, 1981 an Indian Airlines plane was hijacked to Lahore by some Sikh extremists, who are still in Pakistan in spite of the matter having been taken up with the Pakistan Government.

All this formed the backdrop for the start of the Akali Dal agitation.

The Akali Dal agitation

6. Even though the Prime Minister met the Akali Dal leaders in October 1981 and again in November 1981 and April 1982, and negotiations were in progress, the Akali Dal announced a programme of obstructing the digging of the Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal and non-repayment of Government loans. Agitations took place on April 24, 1982 and again on May 24, 1982.

7. The tensions generated by the Akali Dal agitation suited the various militant groups who had joined it. The Dal Khalsa openly incited communal passions. On April 26, 1982 it claimed responsibility for serious acts of sacrilege against Hindu temples and declared its intention of repeating them. A cow slaughter campaign with grave potential for aggravating communal tension was threatened. The Dal Khalsa and the National Council of Khalistan were declared unlawful associations on May 1, 1982.

The growth of militancy

8. Following the arrest on July 19, 1982 of Shri Amrik Singh, President, AISSF and others in connection with a case

of attempted murder, Shri Bhindranwale shifted his headquarters from Chowk Mehta to Guru Nanak Niwas within the Golden Temple complex. This move had significant implications for the developments to follow. A morcha started for Shri Amrik Singh's unconditional release.

9. In spite of this surcharged atmosphere, the Akali Dal intensified its morcha from August 4, 1982, describing it as a 'Dharam Yudh'¹ Two incidents of hijacking of Indian Airlines planes followed. On August 20, 1982 in Jalandhar district there was an attempt on the life of the then Chief Minister, Shri Darbara Singh.

10. Shri Bhindranwale and others now operating directly from the Golden Temple complex began to extol and instigate violence. Extremists and terrorists made more blatant use of the premises of the Golden Temple. Shri Balbir Singh Sandhu of the National Council of Khalistan also made his appearance there. All efforts of the State authorities to persuade the SGPC to hand over wanted persons drew no response.

11. On September 11, 1982 there was an accident at an unmanned railway crossing at Tarn Taran in which some Akali Dal undertrials lost their lives. The Akali Dal projected this as a deliberate attempt to kill them. The religious rites for the dead culminated in a violent demonstration before Parliament on October 11, 1982.

Government's gesture and Akali Dal reaction

12. Government released all arrested Akali Dal agitators in October 1982 as a gesture of goodwill and to facilitate talks. However, the Akali Dal leadership directed the agitators not to leave the jails. Provocative speeches led to fresh violence in Amritsar on October 26, 1982 when hand grenades were thrown at a Ramnaumi²

¹A religious battle.

²A Hindu religious festival.

procession. On November 4, 1982 the Home Minister appealed in the Lok Sabha for a withdrawal or suspension of the agitation. The Akali Dal responded with a new programme for the gherao¹ of the Chief Minister. It is significant that the Akali Dal particularly chose national occasions such as Republic Day to stage agitations or to synchronise them with events involving India's prestige in the international community. Demonstrations were threatened on the occasion of the Asian Games in November-December 1982, and a pamphlet containing baseless allegations maligning the Government was circulated on behalf of the Akali Dal at the meeting of the Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth countries in November 1983.

13. The Akali Dal declared that if its demands were not accepted by February 21, 1983 the fight would be taken to the streets. Sikh masses were exhorted to adopt a programme of do-or-die and recruitment of Shaheedi volunteers (a suicide squad) was started.

14. As discussions were in progress a fresh appeal was made to the Akali Dal leadership on March 31, 1983 to call off their agitation. The response was a 'rasta roko' (obstruct road traffic) agitation in Punjab on April 4, 1983 which led to violence and arson at a number of places.

15. On May 30, 1983 the Home Minister wrote to Sant Harchand Singh Longowal suggesting the resumption of talks; the Akali Dal announced a 'rail roko' (stop trains) programme for June 17, 1983. A 'kam roko' (stop work) agitation was organised on August 29, 1983 with another rash of violence.

Terror escalates

16. Throughout this period the extremists were attacking conscientious police officers who were doing their duty of enforcing the law. The gravest of all such crimes was the dastardly murder of Shri A. S. Atwal, DIG, Jalandhar Range, on April 25, 1983 just

¹To surround so as to prevent movement; blockade.

as he was coming out of the Darbar Sahib after prayers. The assailant came from within the Golden Temple and ran back to its shelter after committing the crime. There were numerous encounters between the police and extremists in which there were a number of police casualties. Explosions killed many. The selective killings of Nirankaris and others continued.

17. The AISSF, originally founded in 1944 to inculcate love for the teachings of the great Gurus among Sikh youth, was taken over by extremists, and its members began to kill and indulge in other acts of violence. From June 1983 onwards an organised attempt was made to use Gurmat camps to propagate extremism and communal ideology and to impart training in arms. Pro-Pakistan and Khalistan slogans were defiantly raised in several camps.

The communal dimension

18. A new dimension to the escalating violence was given in September 1983 with a deliberate move to kill members of the Hindu community. On September 28, 1983 there was indiscriminate firing on persons on their morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district. This was followed by the hijacking of a bus on October 5, 1983 near Dhilwan in Kapurthala district and the cold blooded murder of six Hindu passengers after segregating them from other passengers.

19. On October 21, 1983 sabotage derailed the Sealdah-Jammu-Tawi Express killing 19 passengers. On November 18, 1983, another 4 Hindu passengers travelling in a bus were killed in District Amritsar.

20. The Chief Minister, Punjab resigned because the developments in the State had acquired a dimension which had implications for the security and the unity and integrity of the country. Punjab was brought under President's rule with effect from October 6, 1983 and a number of administrative and legal measures

were taken to curb terrorism. The Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance, 1983 and the Chandigarh Disturbed Areas Ordinance, 1983 were promulgated on 7th October, 1983. The Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special Powers Ordinance, 1983 was promulgated on 15th October, 1983. These Ordinances were later passed as Acts of Parliament. Additional Central Forces were deployed in Punjab. In addition to administrative measures, raids and combing operations to recover illicit arms and ammunition were organised, which started yielding some results.

Misuse of Akal Takht

21. Shri Bhindranwale moved from the Guru Nanak Niwas to the Akal Takht¹ with his armed entourage on December 15, 1983. From this sanctuary he and his associates intensified incitements of violence and communal hatred. Several persons arrested have confessed that they committed violent crimes on their specific directions.

22. An important objective of the extremists was to liquidate those Sikhs who opposed their anti-national activities. A very large number of Sikhs—police personnel, politicians, religious and spiritual leaders—were murdered to frighten the law abiding masses into submission. A similar fate befell those within the Golden Temple who were suspected or judged to have defied the authority of the extremists. Several were tortured and subjected to painful death, their bodies then being thrown into open drains. Apart from these the desecration of the Temple complex extended to other, equally reprehensible, forms. The SGPC and the Akali Dal did nothing to stop such savagery and depravity nor even to condemn them. They did not seem concerned at such desecration of this holy shrine, held sacred by millions of people, Sikhs and Hindus.

23. Ignoring the glaring fact that every call for a morcha or a bandh had triggered off serious incidents of violence, the Akali Dal announced on January 26, 1984 a programme of burning Article 25 of the Constitution of India. A Punjab bandh was called on

¹Supreme seat of the Sikh religious order. Building of that seat.

February 8, 1984. A new organisation, the Hindu Suraksha Samiti¹ which had been formed in 1981, in its turn called for a bandh on February 14, 1984. This again led to serious clashes and violence in various places in which 11 persons died. Some members of extremist Hindu organisations committed the sacrilege of damaging the model of the Golden Temple and a picture of Guru Ram Dass at the Amritsar Railway Station.

24. By this time the extremists occupying the Golden Temple complex and those who had fanned out all over Punjab felt bold enough to engage the security forces. There was frequent firing from buildings near the Golden Temple on police personnel.

People lived in constant fear. Mere suspicion that anyone had given information about the criminal activities of terrorists provoked instant reprisal. People were dared not talk about the crimes they had witnessed, let alone give evidence about them in courts of law. Even the judiciary, was subjected to intimidation. Thus, law enforcing agencies were severely handicapped. This enabled those arrested to be released and the accused to go unpunished. Several tenants and house owners in the proximity of the Golden Temple were forcibly evicted from their dwellings. The Mahant of the Brahma Buta Akhara was summarily deposed and confined by terrorists and the building converted to a fortified outpost for attacking para-military forces. Professional criminals and anti-social elements, enjoyed the protection of various anti-national groups in the Golden Temple. The people felt demoralised by, and defenceless against this unending lawlessness.

The February 1984 negotiations

25. Government convened another tripartite meeting on February 14, 1984. Significantly, the resumption of negotiations was accompanied by a new wave of violence in Punjab. There were also

¹Society for protection of the Hindus.

several incidents of violence in Haryana. More innocent lives were lost including those of 8 Sikhs in Panipat on February 19, 1984.

26. The tripartite meeting adjourned on February 15 to meet again within a few days, but the Akali Dal leaders did not return. Terrorist gangs roamed all over the State killing people at random. Nine were shot dead on February 21, 1984, 12 on February 22, 11 on February 23 and again 3 on February 24. Attempts were made on the life of Shri Ved Pal, Deputy Speaker, Haryana Vidhan Sabha (Assembly) and Shri Darbara Singh, former Chief Minister of Punjab. Shri H. S. Manchanda, President of the Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, was shot dead in Delhi on March 28, 1984 and Dr. V.N. Tewari, MP, a professor at the Punjab University who had done much for the Punjabi language, on April 3, 1984, at Chandigarh.

27. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal gave a new call for "Panth Azad week"¹ to be observed from April 2, 1984. This was withdrawn after the Home Minister's statement that the demand for the amendment of Article 25 (2) (b) of the Constitution could be considered. But enormous damage to the already embittered situation in Punjab was already done.

28. Evidence mounted of well planned efforts to completely disrupt normal life in Punjab. Looting of banks and business establishments was carried out by anti-social and other criminal elements associated with the terrorist movement on a more systematic and wider scale. Over the period from October 1, 1983 to May 31, 1984, 24 banks were robbed. Large amounts of cash were looted and guards and other personnel killed. Between April 14 and 16, 1984 a massive operation was undertaken to commit arson at as many as 39 wayside and mostly unmanned railway stations, apparently as a show of strength.

¹Free community.

29. From August 4, 1982, when the Akali Morcha was started upto June 3, 1984, there were over 1200 violent incidents in which 410 persons were killed and more than 1180 injured. From January 1, 1984, to June 3, 1984, there were over 775 violent incidents in which 293 persons were killed and more than 525 injured.

The killings of April-May 1984

30. The uninterrupted story of killings, arson and loot which attained peaks of intensity and virulence at different stages during 1981—84 is described yearwise and monthwise in Annexure VII. It is necessary, however, to highlight the main events of April-May 1984, because they bring out fully the real character and designs of the terrorists. A Principal of a College in Ferozepur was shot dead on April 1, 1984. The AISSF indulged in widespread acts of arson to prevent the holding of examinations. On April 2, 1984, Shri Harbans Lal Khanna, former MLA and BJP leader, was shot dead inside his own shop. The murder of Shri Surinder Singh Sodhi on April 14, 1984 created serious tension between the Akali Dal leaders and Shri Bhindranwale, but by now the latter was in a position to dictate terms. The murderer was immediately killed and Smt. Baljit Kaur, who was said to have been involved in Shri Sodhi's murder was also killed and her mangled body thrown outside in a gunny sack.

31. On April 26, 1984 the security forces were fired upon from inside the gurdwara at Moga. Singh Sahib Giani Partap Singh, one of the most revered spiritual leaders and former Jathedar of Shri Akal Takht Sahib, was murdered on May 10, 1984. Mahant¹ Gopal Das and his disciple were killed on May 14; Shri Niranjana Singh, Granthi of Gurdwara Toot Sahib² was killed on May 14, 1984; Granthi Surat Singh of village Majauli was shot dead on the night of May 16-17, and Shri Jarnail Singh, Granthi of a gurdwara in village Valtaha

¹Head priest of a Hindu temple.

²Priest of a Sikh temple.

was murdered on May 17-18, 1984. Priests and religious leaders were being intimidated to unquestioningly accept Shri Bhindranwale's directions. Shri Ramesh Chandra, Editor of the Hind Samachar Group of newspapers and son of Lala Jagat Narain, who had himself been murdered, was killed on May 12, 1984.

32. The security forces checked a 'kar sewa'¹ truck on May 11, 1984 and recovered sten guns, arms and ammunition. The truck was found to be registered in the name of Shri Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. Terrorists using automatic weapons continued to attack camps of security forces.

33. The terrorists had by now occupied some of the private houses in the neighbourhood of the Golden Temple with a view to improving their tactical position. Extremists exhorted money and Shri Bhindranwale started summarily deciding industrial and land disputes and even personal matters.

Government had also received reliable information about violent clashes between various groups living within the premises of the Golden Temple complex, including the followers of Sant Longowal and Shri Bhindranwale. An attempt was made by the high Priests headed by the Head Priest of the Akal Takht in May, 1984 to make both groups agree to the stopping of murders and tortures within the temple.

34. Information was received by Government that Shri Bhindranwale had advocated the killing of Hindus in Punjab so as to set in motion a general exodus. On some days as many as a dozen killings were reported. Terrorists in the rural areas were instructed that in the event of any Government action, they should go ahead on their own to kill Hindus and Central Government employees and to move in large numbers to the Temple. Although the Sikh masses broadly remained unaffected by these developments it was obvious

¹Voluntary manual work done as service.

that a situation of insurgency in open defiance of constituted authority was building up. Shri Bhindranwale's outlook is best revealed in his own statements, some excerpts of which are given at Annexure VIII.

Akali Dal Calls for a new agitation from June 3

35. The unprecedented orgy of violence in April and May 1984 left the Akali Dal unmoved. Even at this late stage the Akali Dal could have drawn back from the precipice of anarchy. But it chose to call for another agitation to start on June 3, 1984. This threatened agitation had all the potential of engulfing the whole State in lawlessness and violence. Akali Dal leaders called upon people to prevent the movement of foodgrains from Punjab to other States by force and to stop payment of taxes and dues to Government.

36. On its part, the Government continued to make every effort to arrive at a settlement with the Akali Dal leadership. Even in May, 1984 several rounds of talks were held. On May 14, 1984 the detained leaders were released and invited for negotiations by the Home Minister. But even before this there were three meetings. Thereafter, one round of talks was held towards the end of May. An earnest attempt was made to persuade the Akali Dal leadership to withdraw the threatened agitation from June 3, 1984. Unfortunately, Akali Dal positions had hardened and no settlement could be reached. Even a last minute appeal by the Prime Minister in a nation-wide broadcast on June 2, 1984 was spurned.

Parliament's concern

37. Both Houses of Parliament discussed the Punjab situation on a number of occasions. Reflecting the concern of millions throughout the country, Members, cutting across party lines, condemned the growing violence and communal and anti-national activities of terrorists. As early as April 29, 1982, Parliament had expressed the nation's sense of dismay and shock at these activities in a Resolution which

was moved by the Prime Minister and adopted unanimously. The text of the Resolution is at Annexure IX. Parliament has continued to affirm the national resolve to meet the menace of terrorism, extremism and communalism, and to uphold the unity and integrity of the country.

Separatism based abroad

38. Sikhs are among the large number of Indians settled or working abroad whose love for India is not in doubt. However, some are misinformed or misled by interested parties, some others may be vulnerable to pressures in those countries. It is not always easy for the affluent settled abroad to identify themselves with the basic socio-economic interests of the working Sikh masses in India. For some of them the troubles in Punjab were a good opportunity to project themselves as leaders of the Sikh community.

However, several secessionist Sikh organizations are operating abroad. The chief among them which have raised the slogan of 'Khalistan' or a 'separate Sikh state' are the National Council of Khalistan, Dal Khalsa, Babbar Khalsa and Akhand Kirtani Jatha. The 'National Council of Khalistan' headed by Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan is active in the U.K., West Germany, Canada and the USA. The Dal Khalsa activities are mainly in UK and West Germany, while the Babbar Khalsa is operating largely from Vancouver in Canada. The Akhand Kirtani Jatha has units in UK and Canada.

National Council of Khalistan

39. Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, the self-styled leader of the so-called Khalistan movement who has designated himself subsequently as "President of the National Council of Khalistan" came to public life through the student wing of the Communist Party. He first raised the slogan of 'Khalistan' at a press conference in London in September, 1971. On April 12, 1980, he announced the formation of 'National

Council of Khalistan' with himself as President and Shri Balbir Singh Sandhu as its Secretary-General. Three months later he proclaimed from London the formation of 'Khalistan' and a similar announcement was made in India by Balbir Singh Sandhu. Dr. Chauhan has been away from India since then and has been trying to whip up anti-Indian feelings. He has taken to gimmicks, such as, the issue of Khalistan passports, postage stamps and currency notes. His intention was to exploit the sentiments of Sikh residents of Canada and West Germany who are facing difficulties with immigration authorities there. In April, 1981 the Indian passport of Dr. Chauhan was revoked and a case for sedition and promoting hatred among different communities was registered against him in August, 1981. He has not surrendered his passport and has managed to stay in UK and to visit Canada, USA and some European countries. He has been organising demonstrations, burning the Indian national flag and making provocative statements. In October, 1982 a group met under his chairmanship in London and called upon the Akali Dal leadership to adopt a programme of non-payment of taxes, civil disobedience and total non-cooperation with the elected government in Punjab.

40. Dr. Chauhan attempted to enter India in March, 1983 via Nepal and Bangladesh but did not succeed. On March 15, in London he was reported to have said that the time was ripe to organise a 10,000-strong guerilla force to strike at specific targets in India. He claimed that 'Khalistan' soldiers would soon start battling with Indian security forces. On May 18, 1983, he claimed that the United States was supporting this so-called Khalistan movement and that he expected to achieve his objectives within four years. He appealed to the US authorities to stop wheat sales to India and asserted that Pakistani military personnel disguised as Sikhs were stationed at Guru Ram Dass Sarai in Amritsar which was under the control of Shri Bhindranwale.

41. In a letter to Shri Balbir Singh Sandhu on July 13, 1983, he advised that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Shri Bhindranwale

should form a full-fledged government and parliament and if they were reluctant, the 'National Council of Khalistan' should go ahead on its own. Similar advice was given in December, 1983 to the Akali Dal leaders. On December 29, 1983 he announced that January 26, 1984 would be observed as a 'day of betrayal' when the national flag would be burn and the Khalistan flag would be hoisted. In pursuance of this, Balbir Singh Sandhu raised what he described as the Khalistan flag on that day on one of the buildings near Harmandir Sahib. The Council circulated a resolution indicating that they wanted a separate homeland in India and a voice of their own at the UNO. They issued a map outlining the boundaries of the so-called Khalistan State. Dr. Chauhan has been claiming the support of important leaders in foreign countries for his case and has been in touch with several US Congressmen. Despite protests from the Government of India he was able to secure an entry visa to the United States in 1982 and again in March 1983. Dr. Chauhan has maintained contacts with organisations such as the Heritage Foundation of Washington and others.

42. Dr. Chauhan has been acting in close liaison with Shri Ganga Singh Dhillon, an American citizen of Indian origin and President of the Nankana Sahib Foundation of Washington. Lately Dr. Chauhan along with members of Dal Khalsa and others, have established contacts with leaders of the J&K Liberation Front in UK. According to a statement issued on behalf of Sultan Mohd. Chaudhary, the president of 'Azad' J&K Muslim Conference, Dr. Chauhan supported the aims of this organisation in return for their support to Dr. Chauhan's objective. In fact as far back as 1981 Dr. Chauhan claimed that his movement enjoyed the support of J.E.I. of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Some members of the groups claim to be visiting Pakistan regularly. Shri Dhillon has also been canvassing that the Sikhs are a separate nation and maintaining contacts with US Senators, and persons in the higher echelons of the Pakistan administration.

The Dal Khalsa

43. The Dal Khalsa was originally established in India on April 13, 1978 with the avowed object of demanding the creation of an independent sovereign Sikh State. It appears to have been based on the ideas of the late Giani Bakshish Singh, a pro-Naxalite leader of Birmingham. The Dal Khalsa advocates use of violence to achieve its objectives. According to it "only terror will help us to achieve our target". It is the only language which the 20th Century understands. Jaswant Singh Thakedar, Mukh Panch of the Dal Khalsa, UK said "Political power is not served to anybody on a platter: nor it can be acquired through 'Bhakti', without a guerilla warfare and without an armed revolt it would be impossible to achieve our aim". 'Political power flows out of the barrel of a gun. An armed battle is the only way of achieving Khalistan'. The organisation was responsible for hijacking an Indian Airlines aircraft to Lahore on September 29, 1981 and the acts of sacrileges at Amritsar on the 26th April, 1982. For its prejudicial activities it was declared an unlawful association under the provisions of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 on May 1, 1982.

44. The Dal Khalsa established a branch in UK on January 4, 1983 and set up a branch in West Germany in June, 1983.

45. In May, 1983, at a joint meeting in London of the Dal Khalsa, UK and the Babbar Khalsa, Vancouver, they found fault with the leaders of SA Dal, Amritsar for their willingness to hold talks with the Government and warned them that they would meet the same fate as the Nirankaris should they reach a compromise with the Government of India. A pamphlet circulated on May 29, 1983, under the names of Thakedar, described as member of the Supreme Council of Dal Khalsa and Devinder Singh Parmar, described as member of the Supreme Executive Council of the organisation, dubbed the Indian Constitution as a worthless document so far as the Sikhs were concerned and said that the Dal Khalsa proposes to challenge Indian

the International Court of Justice and seek help from the UN to put pressure on India "To quit the Sikh Homeland". At a congregation on the June 12, 1983, Shri Thakedar claimed the responsibility of the Dal Khalsa in the killing of Lala Jagat Narain and Shri Atwal, DIG Police and warned that they would take similar revenge on Police officials for the death of Sikhs during the Akali Morcha. He also advocated violence to achieve their objectives and declared that the organisation would not be satisfied with anything less than the creation of an independent nation for Sikhs. Shri Thakedar threatened the Government of India on Shri Talwinder Singh Parmar's arrest by the West German authorities. At a meeting held in Southall in July, 1983 Shri Thakedar said that the Dal Khalsa was getting ready for an armed struggle in the Punjab and that many people in high places in Punjab had expressed their secret support to the organisation and that even Army officers were prepared to rise in revolt. So-called "traitors to the community" were threatened with punishment.

46. Addressing some Sikhs of foreign nationality at a 'Political education camp', organised by the Dal Khalsa on the August 14, 1983, Shri Thakedar declared that the organisation would launch a guerilla struggle. During a visit to London in the third week of September, 1983 Shri Surjan Singh Gill, the so-called Consul-General of Khalistan in Vancouver claimed that the Government of Pakistan had promised to give them assistance in their fight and that once Khalistan was formed, Pakistan would accord a status similar to that of the Vatican to the Nankana Sahib. Dal Khalsa obviously regards Pakistan as a strategic ally. In the first week of November, 1983, a book in Punjabi 'Khalsa Raj' written by Shri Thakedar was released for sale in the UK. It mentioned (1) that the Dal Khalsa was committed to establishment of a 'Khalsa Raj'; (2) it planned to create religious consciousness amongst the Sikhs and to cooperate with other communities in the world which were similarly fighting for independence; and (3) that a new organisation 'Thakhat Khalsa' would be formed to cleanse the Khalsa Panth and struggle against the Government for freedom

The struggle would be similar to that of the Jews. The book also mentioned that political power could be secured only through physical efforts, guerilla warfare and an armed revolt.

47. Some members of the organisation indicated their desire to raise a group of young dedicated Sikh workers willing to undertake suicide missions.

48. In April, 1984, Shri Man Mohan Singh Bajaj, Mukh Panch of the Dal Khalsa, West Germany, justified the assassinations of S/Shri Harbans Singh Manchanda and Vishwanath Tewari claiming that these were done at the 'Hukam of the Guru Sahib'. On the June 11, 1984, it announced that it had set up a clandestine Government in exile. Shri Jaswant Singh Thakedar was named as Defence Minister, while Shri Man Mohan Singh Bajaj as Minister for Home Affairs. Dr. Harjinder Singh Dilgir was named Foreign Minister while Gajinder Singh, one of the hijackers was named Minister for Agriculture and Industries.

The Babbar Khalsa and the Akhand Kirtani Jatha

49. The Akhand Kirtani Jatha started mainly as a religious group, but it extends support to other Sikh political and extremist organisations, particularly the Babbar Khalsa. Bibi Harsharan Kaur and Bibi Amarjit Kaur, widow of Fauja Singh who was killed in the Sikh-Nirankari clash in April, 1978, are among its activists. It holds that the Sikhs would not be able to maintain their purity unless they achieved an independent State. It has branches in UK and Canada.

50. The Babbar Khalsa is a political off-shoot of Akhand Kirtani Jatha. It looks upon the Jewish struggle for the creation of Israel and the National Liberation struggle of the Kurds as models for organising its activities.

51. The Babbar Khalsa was established in 1978 in India. Its branch in Canada was set up in 1981. Shri Talwinder Singh Parmar is

the Jathedar of the overseas unit. It is trying to extend its activities to the USA, the UK, Holland and West Germany.

52. According to Babbar Khalsa, Pakistan is the natural and cultural neighbour of the Sikhs and ready to assist their movement against the Government of India. It also stresses the point that members of the Sikh community abroad would have an important role to play in the "liberation of Khalistan".

53. The members of the organisation have been talking about plans to organise a 'Khalistan Liberation Army' and of the need of imparting arms training to their volunteers.

54. In February, 1982, the 'Vancouver Sun' carried a report about the attempts of Sikh extremist elements to recruit Sikhs in British Columbia in Canada and have them trained with the help of a mercenary who had fought in Rhodesia. It cited an advertisement inserted by one Johan Vanderhorst calling for young volunteers with previous military experience on a monthly salary of US \$ 1,250. Johan Vanderhorst told a correspondent of the newspaper that he had been hired by a group of Indians to constitute a team of men with military experience to train Sikhs in British Columbia in the use of fire-arms and in combat techniques. He was also quoted as having claimed that the training was intended to help Sikhs take over the Punjab.

55. On May 20, 1983, in an interview to the 'Des Pardes' of London, Talwinder Singh Parmar claimed that the Babbar Khalsa was responsible for the murders of Lala Jagat Narain, the Nirankaris and others in the Punjab and that the AISSF was responsible for incidents of sabotage of railway tracks.

56. In February, 1984, Shri Surjan Singh Gill addressed an 'Open letter' to Sikh leaders in the Punjab urging them to initiate action to achieve 'the original target of the Sikh Qaum, namely the

establishment of an independent entity'. He expressed the view that it was time to try the 'suicide squads' to change the situation in Punjab, and warned that the Qaum would not excuse any leader who showed weakness at this 'critical time'.

57. In a meeting in May, 1984, the issue of the boycott of Air India flights by Sikhs in UK was also taken up and a resolution calling for the setting up of a committee to visit airports in order to dissuade Sikhs from travelling by Air India was passed. Jathedar Gurmej Singh also warned that the names of Sikh passengers and Sikh travel agents in UK who do not cooperate with the committee would be passed on to representatives of the Babba Khalsa in Punjab and New Delhi so that they could be killed.

IV

ARMY ACTION IN PUNJAB AND CHANDIGARH

On June 2, 1984 Government decided to call in the Army in aid of civil authority in Punjab. The task assigned to the Army was :

To check and control extremist, terrorist and communal violence in the State of Punjab and the Union Territory of Chandigarh, provide security to the people and restore normalcy;

To augment the Border Security Force presence on the India-Pakistan border lying within the territorial jurisdiction of Punjab in order to stop smuggling and unauthorised cross-border traffic.

2. The para-military forces deployed in Punjab and Chandigarh as well as the Punjab Armed Police units were placed under the command and control of the Army. Since the Union Territory of Chandigarh was also affected by terrorist action, the Governor of Punjab was appointed for a period of two months as Administrator of the territory in order to facilitate coordinated action.

3. On June 3, 1984, the entry of foreigners into Punjab was prohibited under the Foreigners Act. Subsequently, on June 15, 1984 the requirement of visa for persons holding passports of UK and Canada and on June 18, 1984 for nationals of other Commonwealth countries and Ireland was introduced. Such rules exist for nationals of other countries. Temporarily the movement across the Attari Checkpost was stopped.

4. The Government of Punjab took action under the Punjab Press (Special Powers) Act to prohibit the publication and transmission of material which may have the effect of inflaming communal passions and affect public order.

Plan of army operation

5. The Army's plan to re-establish law and order in Punjab and Chandigarh envisaged apprehension of terrorist elements, the flushing out of known terrorist hide-outs, recovery of illegal arms and ammunition and restoration of public safety and confidence.

6. By the early hours of June 3, 1984, Army formations had moved into Punjab and Chandigarh and had been suitably deployed in all districts.

7. By that time BSF battalions deployed on the Punjab Pakistan border had already been placed under the operational command of the Army for effective coordination and control of the international border against illegal trans-border traffic and smuggling.

8. The States contiguous to Punjab had also taken action to prevent terrorists from crossing over into their territories.

9. While information was available that the terrorists possessed large quantities of arms of different kinds and had built up strong fortifications, tactical intelligence in regard to the strength and disposition of terrorist garrisons was inadequate. However, to save the situation from irretrievable deterioration, there was utmost necessity for speed in the completion of Army operations.

10. Specific orders were given to troops to use the minimum force, to show the utmost reverence to all holy places and to ensure that no desecration or damage was done to the Harmandir Sahib, the sanctum sanctorum of the Golden Temple, and the Darbar Sahibs of other Gurdwaras. The use of high trajectory weapons and incendiary ammunition was totally barred. Troops were particularly

instructed not to wear any leather items in holy places and to treat all apprehended persons with dignity and consideration. All Commanders were instructed to continuously use the public address systems for a number of hours at every suspected hide-out or terrorist base, to advise terrorists to give themselves up in order to prevent bloodshed and damage to holy places before the use of force for their apprehension.

11. A 36-hour curfew was declared by the Punjab Government and Chandigarh Administration from 2100 hours on June 3 which was later extended selectively. Police cordons around the Golden Temple and other known terrorist hide-outs were made more effective by Army units who also assisted in ensuring that curfew was not violated.

Army action in the Golden Temple area

12. A map showing the lay-out of the Golden Temple and adjacent buildings together with a brief description is given at Annexure X.

13. The dispositions of the terrorists in the area were organised on military lines which exploited the defensive potential of the buildings to the fullest extent. The terrorists selected the Akal Takht as a building of prime importance since it housed Shri Bhindranwale and his headquarters and was tactically significant to their operations. The approaches to the Akal Takht were heavily defended.

Lookout and early warning posts

14. Seventeen houses in the civilian residential areas had been selected by the terrorists at distances of 500 to 800 metres from the outer periphery of the temple complex and held by approximately 10 men each. These lookout and early warning posts were veritable arsenal of light machine guns and other automatic and semi-automatic weapons with huge caches of ammunition. The posts had been given common communication equipment to be in instant touch

with their command posts. In addition, posts had been created on the structures which dominated the entire surroundings, i.e., the overhead water tank east of Guru Ram Das Sarai, the two towers adjacent to, and west of, the Langar¹, each of which has a staircase whose ventilation recesses were used as gun positions. Canopies, sunshades and other projections had been sand-bagged on three sides and developed as machine gun nests. Verandah arches had been closed with masonry and used as vantage firing posts with slits just enough for observation and fire.

15. *First Line of Positions* : Weapon positions had also been sited on the roof tops of all buildings on the eastern side which constituted the most vulnerable approach. In addition, the buildings themselves permitted fire through sand-bagged windows at each floor level.

16. *Second Line of Positions* : Similar weapon positions including a large number of alternate positions had been created on the roofs and intermediate floors of the buildings enclosing the entire temple complex.

17. *The Main Positions at the Akal Takht* : As the Akal Takht is set back from the Parikarma² on the western wing, the open space to its east had been developed as a "Killing ground" with effective fire being brought down on it from the Akal Takht itself, the buildings on its right and left and also from the Toshakhana³. The Akal Takht had been fortified as well as any dug out position of any modern army. Starting from the basement upwards, gun placements had been planned out and sited at every level including the floor level, the window level, the roof ventilators, on to the first floor and the upper storeys. The terrorists had cut holes in the walls and the marble facade like a pillbox for the positioning of weapons.

¹Free kitchen for devotees or pilgrims.

²Path around the sanctum sanctorum.

³Place where gifts/offerings are kept.

The Pattern of Terrorists Resistance

18. The design of resistance of the terrorists as it turned out during the Army action was as follows :

Early warning and aggressive attrition by the peripheral ring of lookout posts ; and clever fire control and use of alternate positions on the first and second defensive lines.

19. It was evident that weapons were craftily deployed and tried. For example, while rifles and automatic weapons were used from the lookout positions, sten machine carbines were the major weapon on the first and second defensive lines since ranges of more than 25 to 30 yards were rarely available around the main complex. There was very effective coordination of fire. The selected killing-ground was fully covered by fire from all sides. The limited anti-tank resources were well marshalled and used only when a mechanised vehicle came within range.

20. The terrorists had converted the Golden Temple complex into a veritable fortress for mounting attacks on any para military or military forces that might challenge their position. They had received extensive training in military operations and use of explosives and sophisticated weapons, installed their own communication systems and stored adequate quantities of foodgrains to last several months. Training had been provided by experienced ex-army personnel and battle plans had been drawn up with ingenuity, maximising the advantages provided by the basements, underground passages, niches, winding staircases, lookouts and towers in the Temple complex. Wearing assorted uniforms, the terrorists were as well trained and well equipped as any regular force could be. The pattern of killings, bank robberies and arson committed by the terrorists all over Punjab also showed how well they were trained in the use of weapons. They had an elaborate protective cover of getaway plans and eventual sanctuary in places of worship.

21. During the afternoon and evening of June 5, 1984, repeated appeals were made to the terrorists on the public address system to lay down their arms and surrender to the authorities to prevent avoidable bloodshed and damage to structures in the Temple complex. 129 surrendered. At 1900 hours on June 5, the Army commenced preliminary operations to secure dominating buildings on the periphery of the area occupied by terrorists around the Golden Temple.

22. From 2230 hours, Army units commenced moving to the Golden Temple precincts. This drew a very heavy volume of fire from the terrorists into the narrow streets at close range. A large number of tear-gas shells were fired by the troops into the terrorist positions including the Akal Takht but these were not effective since all windows and doors had been heavily barricaded with bricks and mortar as well as sandbags. Despite casualties, the troops gradually closed in and commenced movement into the area around the Temple, after overcoming very heavy and organised resistance.

23. Troops effected entry into the area around the Sarovar through the northern deori² and the southern library building. In the latter area, the terrorists were firing from a number of machine gun positions in the library building and were hurling country-made grenades, lighting them with match-sticks. A fire was noticed at this stage in the library. Troop fire-fighting parties were repeatedly rushed to put out the fire, but these attempts were foiled by the heavy machine-gun fire from the terrorists. By the time the terrorist positions could be overcome, the library had been gutted.

24. Intensive fire had to be faced from the Akal Takht, which stood like a fortress, covering all avenues of approach with a deadly and concentrated volume of machine-gun fire, causing heavy casualties.

¹Holy tank.

²Entrance.

2 . The terrorists from their outer line positions also reinforced the fire from the Akal Takht and made it a bastion of automatic weapons. Machine-guns from Harmandir Sahib simultaneously raked the Parikrama¹ and surrounding buildings from where the troops had forced back the terrorists. In spite of this the troops exercised great restraint and refrained from directing any fire at Harmandir Sahib.

26. At 0100 hrs. on June 6, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Shri G.S. Tohra surrendered near Guru Nanak Niwas with about 350 people. The terrorists opened fire at them and also lobbed hand grenades to prevent their surrender. As a result, seventy people were killed including 30 women and 5 children. Among those killed were Shri Gurcharan Singh, who had been accused by extremists of having plotted the murder of Shri Sodhi and Shri Bagga Singh, a vocal critic of the cult of religious terrorism preached by Shri Bhindranwale.

27. At about 0410 hrs. on June 6 some troops attempting to close-in on the Akal Takht in an Armoured Personnel Carrier (APC) were fired at by anti-tank rockets from the Akal Takht which damaged and immobilised the APC. Thereafter, one tank with its searchlights was taken into the area to blind the terrorist positions in the Akal Takht and to engage these with fire. By the morning of June 6, the troops had effectively engaged all gun positions at the Akal Takht. After engagement with and silencing of some machine-gun positions of the Akal Takht, the troops effected entry into the Akal Takht. Room-to-room engagement commenced. Some extremists were then observed rushing down towards the first and ground floors, where shortly thereafter an explosion took place and a fire started. The troops also heard an exchange of fire among the extremists themselves on the ground floor and in the basement.

Path around the sanctum sanctorum.

28. Some terrorists at this stage attempted to rush out of the Akal Takht to clear some areas held by the troops, but were beaten off. A group of 10 terrorists thereafter surrendered with a white flag. Room-to-room fighting, however, continued in the Akal Takht till it was cleared by 1230 hours on June 6, except for resistance continuing from the ground floor and basements.

29. That afternoon, the troops made further appeals over loudspeakers to the terrorists to surrender. As a result some 200 terrorists surrendered including 22 from Harmandir Sahib. The Head Granthi and two other Granthis were at this stage found to be safe inside the Harmandir Sahib.

30. The continued resistance from the ground floor and the basement of the Akal Takht was tackled during the night of June 6/7. When this resistance was finally overcome the troops commenced a thorough search of the ground floor and the basement. The bodies of Shri Bhindranwale and Amrik Singh were found among 34 other bodies on the ground floor of the Akal Takht.

31. Some terrorists remained active in the morning hours of June 7 using the surrounding buildings and number of tunnels in the area of the Golden Temple. It required a few days of careful search to winkle out the last of the terrorists who inflicted brutal casualties on troops. No women or children were killed in the action by the troops.

Damage to buildings in the area of the Golden Temple

32. From the commencement of the planning stage of this operation damage to the temple buildings was not contemplated and strict instructions had been issued to preserve the buildings. The heavy toll of Army casualties is an indication of the deliberate restraint exercised by our troops in order to ensure that the Harmandir Sahib and Akal Takht were not damaged despite the murderous small arms

and automatic fire which poured forth on the troops from these buildings from the terrorists. Fire on the Akal Takht had to be opened only when very high casualties began to accrue to the troops and when the terrorists escalated action by using anti-tank weapons from this building.

33. A large quantity of weapons, ammunition and explosives was recovered, including automatic and anti-tank weapons. A small factory for the manufacture of hand grenades and sten guns was also found within the precincts of the Golden Temple. The Army is still engaged in the process of recovery of arms. It will take some time to complete this task. A list of arms recovered till June 30, 1984, is at Annexure XI.

Brutalities by the terrorists

34. The atrocities committed by the terrorists on innocent Sikhs and Hindus prior to the induction of the Army are well known. During the Army operations, instances of further heinous acts and barbarous vandalism by the terrorists in control of the Golden Temple have come to light. On the night of 5/6 June 1984 when, on appeals by the Army, several civilians including women and small children from the Guru Nanak Niwas and the SGPC building came out to surrender, the terrorists opened fire and lobbed grenades at them and killed 70 people including 30 women and 5 children. The terrorists also tortured in a most inhuman manner and brutally murdered two Junior Commissioned Officers whom they had captured. They strapped explosives on to the body of one of the Junior Commissioned Officers after having skinned him alive, and blew him up as he was thrown from the upper floor of the Akal Takht. On 8 June 1984 they hacked to death an unarmed army doctor who had entered a basement to treat some casualties.

35. A total number of 42 religious places were identified where terrorists were based. During the evening of June 5, repeated appeals were made at all these places over public address systems for the terrorists to hand themselves over to the authorities. When there was

no response, the Army moved into these premises in stages to flush them out. In most of these places very little resistance was encountered. However, the terrorists offered a fair amount of resistance in the gurdwaras at Moga and Muktsar and fired at the security forces. Besides they also fired in Faridkot, Patiala, Ropar and Chowk Mehta. Major recovery of arms and ammunition was made from religious places at Chowk Mehta, Patiala and Ropar. The last of these operations was completed by 1700 hours on June 6 after the Army had flushed out terrorists from the Muktsar Gurdwara.

Use of Navy and Air Force in the operation

36. The Army had the help of the Navy and Air Force for certain supporting services.

37. The Navy provided a contingent of divers to search for arms, ammunition and equipment which the terrorists threw into the Amrit Sarovar and the wells around the Golden Temple as also in various ponds and wells in other areas. These operations have been successful, resulting in a large haul of arms, ammunition, equipment and valuables.

38. The Air Force provided transport air support for speedy movement of certain Army elements from other States. Effective helicopter communication and reconnaissance flights were also organised by this service.

Casualties and recovery of arms, ammunition and equipment

39. Details of civilian and Army casualties and of arms and ammunition recovered up to June 30, 1984 are given in Annexure XI.

The name of the tank of water around the sanctum sanctorum of the Golden Temple ('pool of nectar').

Military civic Action

40. To reduce the hardship faced by the civilian population during curfew, the Army undertook positive steps in conjunction with the civil administration to ensure that the supply of essential items was maintained at all times. This included the running of escorted convoys, carrying essential items, and free distribution of essential supplies in certain affected localities. Army medical teams also rendered medical aid to the public in many areas. Canteen facilities were provided to ex-servicemen as well as to the families of serving soldiers.

V

SOME ISSUES

By about the middle of 1983, anti-national and terrorist groups had established complete control over the Golden Temple and converted it as the main base for their operations. With the fortification of the Golden Temple and a number of other gurdwaras, the systematic elimination of those who did not agree with their aims and methods and the raising of the false and insidious slogan of 'Panth in danger', it became evident that the terrorists were aiming at much bigger stakes than merely getting some demands accepted. The large quantities of weapons of offensive character and communication equipment and the arms factory discovered from the Temple fully bear out their ultimate objective, namely, full scale insurgency. Any delay on the part of the Government in breaking these well entrenched bastions of terrorists and secessionists would have been disastrous for the whole country.

2. The events in Punjab have raised some vital issues which require serious consideration:

—Is it right for places of worship which are revered by million to be used as arsenals?

—Is it right to transform such places into sanctuaries for criminals and subversive elements?

And above all,

—How do we prevent the secular foundations of our republic from being eroded?

3. In Punjab, a small group, using the cover of religion, adopted terror as an instrument to promote a secessionist movement based on communal separatism. The Golden Temple and other gurdwaras were used to provide total immunity to criminals and to those who worked to disrupt the unity of the country. This has been the most blatant example of the misuse of religion and religious places in India's recent history.

4. It is inconceivable that the Akali Dal, and the SGPC, which was in charge of the management of the Temple, were not aware of the open desecration and abuse of the holy precincts of the Golden Temple in violation of its own rules. No voice was raised against this by the Akali Dal or SGPC. Not only that, the Akali Dal made full use of religious symbols and rites for its agitation. In this atmosphere the forces of religious fanaticism and fundamentalism easily flourished. Can the SGPC which has the legal responsibility for the management of these religious places plead ignorance and absolve itself of the responsibility for their misuse?

5. The recent occurrences in Punjab cannot be divorced from the wider international context. The security environment of India has worsened in the last three years. Powerful forces are at work to undermine India's political and economic strength. A sensitive border State with a dynamic record of agricultural and industrial development would be an obvious target for subversion. In this context the activities of groups based abroad acquire special significance. A section of the foreign media is deliberately presenting totally distorted versions of the Punjab situation, which have the effect of encouraging and sustaining separatist activities.

6. The fundamental challenges to India's unity have arisen from communal fanaticism and other divisive forces with powerful external support. The target now is secularism, the basic foundation of India's unity. Repeated external aggression and other pressures having failed to break the unity and integrity of India, attempts are

now being made to cause internal disruption, pressing religion into service. This is the warning which the recent developments in Punjab are giving to the nation.

7. Other questions are being posed :

- (i) How is it that sophisticated weapons in such large quantities managed to get inside the Golden Temple and other gurdwaras?
- (ii) Was not the Government aware that such arsenals were being built up inside the Golden Temple and other gurdwaras? Was there not a failure of intelligence?
- (iii) Was there any support from foreign countries and sources available to the terrorists?

8. The Government had some information on the quantity and type of arms which had been acquired by the terrorists and had been stored in the Golden Temple as well as some other gurdwaras. Events proved that this intelligence, as far as it went, was correct. The Government also knew the intentions and strategy of action of the terrorists. From time to time the Government itself gave information about the strength being acquired by the terrorists. The arms and ammunition were smuggled into the Golden Temple and other gurdwaras in Kar Sewa and other vehicles which used to carry foodstuffs and other materials. In the earlier stages, vehicles of the SGPC, were not searched. Everyday hundreds, and on particular days like Amavasya¹ thousands of persons used to visit the gurdwaras and some arms could easily be smuggled in by terrorists mixing with pilgrim crowds. It was not possible to check and search such large numbers without causing serious inconvenience to the pilgrims.

¹Moonless night.

9. It must, however, be admitted that one area in which Government intelligence was weak was of "ground" information. For instance Government had information that the terrorists were planning to take some big and dramatic action against railway tracks, railway stations and post offices during a particular period of time. The exact locations of attack and the particular gangs of terrorists who were to carry out the attacks which was a matter of ground intelligence were not available. As a result, while intensive patrolling of railway tracks was taken up all over the State which detected several acts of sabotage to the tracks and thus averted a large number of railway accidents, it was not possible to prevent actual attacks on railway stations which were mostly small and isolated flag stations.

10. As for the supply of arms, in the initial stages the terrorists got them through some surprise raids on armouries (the main one being the armoury of the Home Guards at Ferozepur) and occasional snatching of arms from police personnel. Later they were able to obtain the more sophisticated arms through sources outside the country and by developing clandestine links with sources within the country. High authorities abroad have spoken of the possibility of illegal inflows of large supplies of arms into India from across the border. More facts will be available when investigations are completed in cases against terrorists who have been apprehended. However, one fact stands out, that the main distribution centre of arms to the terrorist gangs was based in the Golden Temple.

11. The Government have reason to believe that the terrorists were receiving different types of active support from certain foreign sources. The significant relationship between internal and external forces of subversion, is a well-known fact of the contemporary international scene. However, it would not be in the public interest to divulge information which Government have on this aspect of terrorism in Punjab. Utmost vigilance is necessary to thwart the designs of those who wish to exploit our internal situation for their own ends. The

people of India have repeatedly shown full awareness of this dimension of our political life.

12. The action which the Government has had to take in Punjab was neither against the Sikhs, nor the Sikh religion; it was against terrorism and insurgency. The Sikhs are a well integrated part of the Indian nation. They were second to none in their contribution in achieving and defending the country's freedom and the building of the economic strength of free India. The Sikh community stands firm, along with the rest of the nation, in its resolve to preserve and strengthen the unity and integrity of the country.

13. Government have always kept in view the wider national perspective in dealing with the agitation in Punjab over the last two years. Even after the tragic events outlined in the foregoing pages, Government remain committed to its stand that a lasting solution should be found through the democratic process of discussion. It is obvious that such discussions can be fruitful only in an atmosphere of peace, mutual trust and accommodation. No settlement is possible if one group continues to insist that all its demands, including those which concern other States should be accepted in toto. No settlement can be durable if in conceding the demands of one State or group the legitimate interests of some other States or groups are ignored. In any settlement there has to be give and take, and above all, a commitment to the basic concept that the country's interests always come above the interests of a State or group.

14. It is Government's sincere hope that all sections of the people will contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of trust and amity.

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE I

List of 45 Demands Received from the Akali Dal by the Government in September, 1981

A. RELIGIOUS

1. Interference in religious affairs of Sikhs.
2. No endeavours by the Government for Sikh control over the Management of Gurdwaras in Pakistan.
3. Apathy towards safety of life and property of Sikhs settled abroad and in other States of India.
4. Forcible occupation of the Delhi Gurdwaras in 1971.
5. Applying Land Ceiling Act to Gurudwaras in Haryana.
6. Failure to name any train as Golden Temple Express while 15 trains have been named after other religious places.
7. Delay in awarding Holy City Status to Amritsar.
8. Not permitting installation of a transmitter in Golden Temple.
9. Not enacting the All India Gurdwaras Act.
10. Not recognising SGPC as the only representative institution of the Sikhs.
11. Usurping the SGPC's authority in the field of sending pilgrims to Pakistan.
12. Interfering in the Sikh tenets and violating the sanctity of Sikh traditions.
13. Illegal and forcible occupation of Delhi Gurdwaras with the help of the police.

14. Restrictions on carrying of 'Kirpans' (swords) by Sikhs in the National Airlines.

B. POLITICAL

1. Violation of the assurance given to Sikhs for an autonomous region and instead declaring Sikhs as criminal.
2. Ban on 'Punjabi Suba' slogan.
3. Keeping out Chandigarh and other Punjabi speaking areas out of Punjab and taking away control of water head works and river water distribution.
4. Denial of internal autonomy to the State.
5. Toppling of Akali Governments through illegal corrupt practice.
6. Denial of second language status to Punjabi in neighbouring States.
7. Expressing lack of confidence in Punjabis and disarming them by withdrawing licensed arms.
8. Rejecting the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and following a policy of divide and rule by inciting communal tensions.

C. ECONOMIC

1. Reduction in the recruitment quota of Sikhs in armed forces from 20 per cent to 2 per cent.
2. Nationalising of the Punjab & Sind Bank.
3. Failure to establish dry port at Amritsar.
4. Grant of minimum central aid to Punjab.
5. Concentration of economic power in the hands of 5 per cent people.
6. Economic exploitation of Punjab.
7. Increase in prices.
8. Paucity of heavy industries in Punjab.

9. Eviction of Punjabi farmers from Uttar Pradesh.
10. Fixation of land ceiling at 7 hectares, but no ceiling on urban property.
11. Not introducing group insurance scheme in Punjab.
12. Denial of loans to farmers at the rates given to industrialists.
13. Non-remunerative prices for agricultural produce.
14. Procuring agricultural produce at cheap rates but selling the same to consumers at higher prices.
15. Failure to safeguard the rights of Harijans and other weaker sections.
16. Non-payment of compensation to the victims of Indo-Pak wars in Punjab.
17. Non-payment of unemployment allowance.
18. Linking of production to the price index.
19. Denial of facilities to farmers and workers under the Employment Insurance Scheme.
20. Forcible acquisition of urban agricultural land at cheap rates.
21. Ban on the sale of rural land within the 5 Kms. radius of the corporation limits.

D. SOCIAL

1. Non-recognition of the Sikh Personal Law.
2. Projecting Sikhs in improper way in films and TV etc., encouraging anti-Sikh literature and not giving sufficient time for coverage of Sikh literature on Radio/TV.

ANNEXURE II

Revised List of 15 Demands Received from the Akali Dal by Government in October, 1981

RELIGIOUS DEMANDS

1. Unconditional release of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and judicial enquiry with regard to police action in connection with Delhi Rally (September 7), Chowk Mehta and Chando Kalan.
2. Removal of alleged Government high-handedness in the management of Delhi Gurdwaras, holding of democratic elections after removal of forcible control by "one of Government's stooges".
3. Restoration of the SGPC's right to send pilgrim parties to Pakistan and deploy sewadars for the maintenance of local Sikh shrines.
4. Permission to Sikhs travelling by air to wear kirpans in domestic and international flights.
5. An All India Gurdwaras Act should be passed.
6. Grant of holy city status to Amritsar on the pattern of Hardwar, Kurukshetra and Kashi.
7. Installation of "Harimandir Radio" at Golden Temple, Amritsar to relay kirtan.
8. Renaming Flying Mail as Harimandir Express.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEMANDS

9. As per the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the S.A. Dal is firmly convinced that progress of States would entail prosperity of the Centre, for which suitable amendments should be made in the Constitution to give more rights and provincial autonomy to States. The Centre should retain Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency and Communications (including means of transport), while the remaining portfolios should be with the States. Besides, the Sikhs should enjoy special rights as a nation.

10. Merger of Punjabi-speaking areas and Chandigarh into Punjab.
 11. Handing over of dams and headworks in the State to Punjab and re-distribution of river waters as per national and international rules.
 12. Second language status to Punjabi language in Haryana, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan.
 13. Stoppage to uprooting of Punjabi farmers from Terai area of U.P.
 14. Setting up of a dry port at Amritsar.
 15. A licence should be granted for a New Bank in place of the Punjab and Sind Bank, which should be under Sikh control and remunerative price should be fixed for agricultural products by linking it to the index of industrial production.
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ANNEXURE III

**Anandpur Sahib Resolution Authenticated by
Sant Harchand Singh Longowal**



ੴ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ॥



**THE DRAFT
of
THE NEW POLICY PROGRAMME
of
The Shiromani Akali Dal**

adopted

by its Working Committee at its meeting held at Sri Anandpur Sahib on 16-17 October, 1973 to be approved by the General House of the Akali Dal at its Session at Ludhiana on 28-8-1977.

(later passed in the form of 12 Resolutions)

1-8-1977

Giani Ajmer Singh,
Secretary,
Shiromani Akali Dal.

Educational Targets of the Khalsa Panth

The Shiromani Akali Dal aims at grooming the Sikhs into a strong and sturdy Nation, highly educated, fully aware of its fundamental rights, very well versed in various arts and ever ready to honour the more outstanding of its sons.

The Shiromani Akali Dal regards the educationalists, scientists, Philosophers, poets, writers and artists of the Sikh Nation as its most prized asset.

The Shiromani Akali Dal would extend all help to the students from rural and backward classes to acquire higher education.¹

¹This is an extract from Draft under Sub-head 'Education and Culture'.



ੴ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ



There has been much confusion and mis-understanding about the text of the resolution adopted by the working committee of the Akali Dal at Anandpur Sahib. The Shiromani Akali Dal has been consistently making efforts to clear the spirit and the content of the resolution. Now, an authentic English version is being issued for the benefit of non-Punjabi knowing Country-men.

(Sant) Harchand Singh Longowal
President, Shiromani Akali Dal



May the Panth Prevail

May the victory be ever with the Panth

FOREWORD

The Shiromani Akali Dal undoubtedly, is a great organisation whose coming into existence has been a matter of pride for the Sikhs. Its entire history is a glorious record of struggles and agitations, victories and achievements of which it can be justly proud of. The past record of the party vouchsafes that whosoever has ever tried to confront it, he did have to perish ultimately. The most momentous part played by it in the Freedom Struggle of the country would ever form an indelible part of history written in letters of gold.

Shiromani Akali Dal has been guiding the Sikhs according to exigencies of the situation for their rights and for a respectable status in the set-up of the country. Its objective has been exaltation of the Sikh Panth and for the achievement of this lofty ideal Shiromani Akali Dal has been adopting different and varied means.

Keeping in view the anti-Sikh policies of the Congress government and the political, social and economic conditions pulsating in the country, the Shiromani Akali Dal, has decided to redraw the aims and objectives of the Sikh Panth and to give a more vigorous lead for their achievements so that by so doing it may serve the larger interests of the Panth, the Punjab as also the Country and thus live upto the expectations of the Sikhs.

For such a purpose, a sub-committee of the Sikh intellectuals and thinkers was formed by the Shiromani Akali Dal at a meeting of its Working Committee held on 11.12.1972 to draw up the draft of a 'Policy-Programme', with the General Secretary of the Party, S. Surjit Singh Barnala, as its Chairman, and S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, M. P., President, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Jathedar Jiwan Singh Umranangal, S. Gurmit Singh, ex-minister, Dr. Bhagat

Singh, ex-minister, S. Balwant Singh, ex-Finance Minister, S. Gian Singh Rarewala, S. Prem Singh Lalpura, S. Jaswinder Singh Brar, General Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, S. Bhag Singh, ex-M.L.A., Major General Gurbux Singh Badhni and S. Amar Singh Ambalvi Advocate, as its members.

This Sub-Committee had eleven sittings beginning with the first at Amritsar, on 23.12.1972. Most of the meetings were held at Chandigarh for its peaceful and congenial atmosphere.

All the members of the sub-committee evinced keen interest in its working and engaged themselves in very interesting and useful discussions which were a treat to watch and partake of. A unanimous report was ultimately drawn up after very close deliberations on each and every aspect of the matters and more subtle of their aspects. Actuated by feelings of love for the Sikhs Panth, more of its eminent Army Generals, Legal experts, Doctors, Political thinkers, experienced politicians and religious leaders joined together to lend their helping hands to draw up this plan for a more glorious future of the Panth. During their discussions a very happy balance of love for the Panth and the Country was all too evident, as also the keenness to safeguard the interests of the Sikhs and the Country.

When the meticulously drawn up report of S. Surjit Singh sub-committee was presented in the meeting of the working committee of Shiromani Akali Dal held at Shri Anandpur Sahib, the sacred and historic seat of the Tenth Lord, it was approved, after close discussions extending over two days, for placing it before the General House.

This draft is, therefore, being sent to you to enable you to study it in depth so that the meeting of the General House may be benefited by your valued opinion.

With Panthic Love and regards,

Office of
Shiromani Akali Dal,
Sri Amritsar,
1.8.1977.

Yours humbly,
Ajmer Singh,
Secretary.
Shiromani Akali Dal.

The Resolutions

adopted, in the light of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, at the open session of the 18th All India Akali Conference held at Ludhiana on 28-29 October, 1978 under the Presidentship of Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi are as under:

(It was after the passing of these Resolutions that the Shiromani Akali Dal started the struggle therefor).

Resolution No. 1

Moved by S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and endorsed by S. Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister, Punjab.

The Shiromani Akali Dal realizes that India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures. To safeguard the fundamental rights of the religious and linguistic minorities, to fulfil the demands of the democratic traditions and to pave the way for economic progress, it has become imperative that the Indian constitutional infra-structure should be given a real federal shape by redefining the central and state relations and rights on the lines of the aforesaid principles and objectives.

The concept of total revolution given by Lok Naik, Sh. Jaya Parkash Narain is also based upon the progressive decentralization of powers. The climax of the process of centralization of powers of the states through repeated amendments of the Constitution during the Congress regime came before the countrymen in the form of the Emergency, when all fundamental rights of all citizens were usurped. It was then that the programme of decentralization of powers ever advocated by Shiromani Akali Dal was openly accepted and adopted by other political parties including Janta Party, C.P.I. (M), A.D.M.K. etc.

Shiromani Akali Dal has ever stood firm on this principle and that is why after very careful considerations it unanimously adopted a resolution to this effect first at all India Akali Conference, Batala, then at Sri Anandpur Sahib which has endorsed the principle of State autonomy in keeping with the concept of Federalism.

As such, the Shiromani Akali Dal emphatically urges upon the Janta Government to take cognizance of the different linguistic and cultural sections, religious minorities as also the voice of millions of people and recast the constitutional structure of the country on real and meaningful federal principles to obviate the possibility of any danger to National unity and the integrity of the Country and further, to enable the states to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people in their respective areas by the meaningful exercise of their powers.

Resolution No. 2

The momentous meeting of the Shiromani Akali Dal calls upon the Govt. of India to examine carefully the long tale of the excesses, wrongs, illegal actions committed by the previous Congress government, more particularly during Emergency, and try to find an early solution to the following problems:

- (a) Chandigarh originally raised as a Capital for Punjab should be handed over to Punjab.
- (b) The long standing demand of the Shiromani Akali Dal for the merger in Punjab of the Punjabi speaking areas, to be identified by linguistic experts with village as a unit, should be conceded.
- (c) The control of Head Works should continue to be vested in Punjab and, if need be, the Reorganization Act should be amended.
- (d) The arbitrary and unjust Award given by Mrs. Indira Gandhi during the Emergency on the distribution of Ravi-Beas waters should be revised on the universally accepted norms and principles, thereby justice be done to Punjab.
- (e) Keeping in view the special aptitude and martial qualities of the Sikhs the present ratio of their strength in Army should be maintained.

- (f) The excesses being committed on the settlers in the Tarai region of U.P. in the name of Land Reforms should be vacated by making suitable amendments in the ceiling Law on the Central guidelines.

Resolution No. 3

(Economic Policy Resolution)

The chief sources of inspiration of the economic policies and programme of the Shiromani Akali Dal are the secular, democratic and socialistic concepts of Sri Guru Nanak Dev and Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji. Our Economic programme is based on three basic principles:

- (a) Dignity of Labour.
- (b) An economic and social structure which provides for the uplift of the poor and depressed sections of society.
- (c) Unabated opposition to concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the capitalists.

While drafting its economic policies and programme, the Shiromani Akali Dal in its historic Anandpur Sahib resolution has laid particular stress on the need to break the monopolistic hold of the capitalists foisted on the Indian economy by 30 years of Congress rule in India. This capitalist hold enabled the central government to assume all powers in its hands after the manner of Mughal Imperialism. This was bound to thwart the economic progress of the states and injure the social and economic interests of the people. The Shiromani Akali Dal once again reiterates the Sikh way of life by resolving to fulfil the holy words of Guru Nanak Dev:

“He alone realizes the True Path who labours honestly and shares the fruits of that Labour”.

This way of life is based upon three basic principles:

- (i) Doing honest labour.
- (ii) Sharing the fruits of this labour, and
- (iii) Meditation on the Lord's Name.

The Shiromani Akali Dal calls upon the Central and the State government to eradicate unemployment during the next ten years. While pursuing this aim, special emphasis should be laid on ameliorating the lot of the weaker sections, Scheduled and depressed classes, workers, landless and poor farmers and urban poor. Minimum wages should be fixed for them all.

The Shiromani Akali Dal urges upon the Punjab Government to draw up such an economic plan for the State as would turn it into the leading province during the next ten years, by raising per capita income to Rs. 3,000/- and by generating an economic growth rate of 7% per annum as against 4% at National level.

The Shiromani Akali Dal gives first priority to the redrafting of the taxation structure in such a way that the burden of taxation is shifted from the poor to the richer classes and an equitable distribution of National income is ensured.

The main plank of the economic programme of the Shiromani Akali Dal is to enable the economically weaker sections of the Society to share the fruits of National income.

The Shiromani Akali Dal calls upon the Central Government to make an international air-field at Amritsar which should also enjoy the facilities of a dry port. Similarly a Stock Exchange should be opened at Ludhiana to accelerate the process of industrialization and economic growth in the State. The Shiromani Akali Dal also desires that suitable amendments should be made in the Foreign Exchange rules for free exchange of foreign currencies and thereby removing the difficulties being faced by the Indian emigrants.

The Shiromani Akali Dal emphatically urges upon the Indian Government to bring a parity between the prices of the agricultural produce and that of the industrial raw materials so that the discrimination against such states which lack these materials may be removed.

The Shiromani Akali Dal demands that the exploitation of the producers of the cash crops like cotton, sugarcane, oil seeds etc. at the hands of the traders should be stopped forthwith and for such a purpose arrangements for the purchase of these crops by the government, at

remunerative prices, should be made. Besides, effective steps should be taken by the government for the purchase of cotton through the Cotton Corporation.

The Shiromani Akali Dal strongly feels that the most pressing National problem is the need to ameliorate the lot of millions of exploited persons belonging to the scheduled classes. For such a purpose the Shiromani Akali Dal calls upon the Central and State Governments to earmark special funds. Besides, the State Governments should allot sufficient funds in their respective budgets for giving free residential plots both in the urban and rural areas to the scheduled castes.

The Shiromani Akali Dal also calls for the rapid diversification of farming. The shortcomings in the Land Reforms Laws should be removed, rapid industrialization of the State ensured, the credit facilities for the medium industries expanded and unemployment allowance given to those who are unemployed. For remunerative farming, perceptible reduction should be made in the prices of farm machinery like tractors, tubewells as also the inputs etc.

Resolution No. 4

This huge session of the Shiromani Akali Dal regrets the discrimination to which the Punjabi language is being subjected in the adjoining States of Himachal, Haryana, Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir etc. It is its firm demand that in accordance with the Nehru Language Formula, the neighbouring States of Punjab should be 'given second' language status to the Punjabi language because a fairly large sections of their respective population are Punjabi speaking.

Resolution No. 5

The meeting regrets that against the 'claims' of the refugees who had migrated to Jammu and Kashmir as a result of the partition of the country, no compensation has been provided to them even after such a long time and these unfortunate refugees are rotting in the camps ever since then.

This Akali Dal Session, therefore, forcefully demands that their claims should be soon settled and immediate steps should be taken to rehabilitate them even if it involves an amendment in section 370.

Resolution No. 6

The 18th session of the All India Akali Conference takes strong exceptions to the discrimination to which the minorities in other states are being subjected and the way in which their interests are being ignored.

As such, it demands that injustice against the Sikhs in other states should be vacated and proper representation should be given to them in the government service, local bodies, state legislatures, through nomination, if need be.

Resolution No. 7

The 18th session of the All India Akali Conference notes with satisfaction that mechanization of farming in the country has led to increase in the farm yield and as a result the country is heading towards self-sufficiency.

However, the session feels that poor farmers are unable to take to mechanization because of the enormity of the cost involved.

As such, the Shiromani Akali Dal urges upon the Government of India to abolish the excise duty on tractors so that with the decrease in their prices the ordinary farmers may also be able to avail of farm machinery and contribute to the growth of gross agricultural produce of the country.

Resolution No. 8

The meeting of the Shiromani Akali Dal appeals to the Central and State governments to pay particular attention to the poor and labouring classes and demands that besides making suitable amendments in the Minimum Wages Act, suitable legal steps should be taken to improve the economic lot of the labouring class to enable it to lead a respectable life and play a useful role in the rapid industrialization of the country.

Resolution No. 9

This session seeks permission from the Government of India to instal a broadcasting station at Golden Temple, Amritsar, for the relay of 'Gurbani Kirtan' for the spiritual satisfaction of those Sikhs who are living in foreign lands.

The session wishes to make it clear that the entire cost of the proposed Broadcasting Project would be borne by the Khalsa Panth and its over-all control shall vest with the Indian Government. We have every hope that the government would have no hesitation in conceding this demand after due consideration.

Resolution No. 10

The huge Session of the Shiromani Akali Dal strongly urges upon the Government of India to make necessary amendments in the following enactments for the benefits of the agricultural classes who have toiled hard for the larger National interests :

1. By suitable amendment in the relevant clause of the Hindu Succession Act, a woman should be given rights of inheritance in the properties of her father-in-law instead of the father's.
2. The agricultural lands of the farmers should be completely exempted from the Wealth Tax and the Estate Duty.

Resolution No. 11

The vast Session of the Shiromani Akali Dal strongly impresses upon the Government of India that keeping in view the economic backwardness of the scheduled and non-scheduled castes provisions proportionate to their population should be made in the budget for utilization for their welfare. A special ministry should be created at the centre as a practical measure to render justice to them on the basis of reservation.

The Session also calls upon the government that in keeping with the settlement already no discrimination should be made between the Sikh and Hindu Harijans in any part of the country.

Resolution No. 12

The Congress government is called upon to vacate the gross injustice, discrimination done to Punjab in the distribution of Ravi-Beas waters. The Central Government must also give approval for the immediate establishment of six sugar and four textile mills in Punjab so that the state may be able to implement its agro-industrial policy.

Basic Postulates of the Shiromani Akali Dal

as adopted by the working committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal at its meeting held at Sri Anandpur Sahib on 16-17 October, 1973.

(A) Postulates

1. The Shiromani Akali Dal is the very embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the Sikh Nation and as such is fully entitled to its representation. The basic postulates of this organisation are Human Co-existence, Human progress and ultimate unity of all Human beings with the Spiritual Soul.
2. These postulates are based upon the three great principles of Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, namely, a Meditation on God's Name, dignity of labour and sharing of fruits of this Labour.

(Nam Japo, Kirat Karo, Wand Chhako)

(B) Purposes

The Shiromani Akali Dal shall ever strive to achieve the following aims :

1. Propagation of Sikhism and its code of conduct denunciation of atheism.
2. To preserve and keep alive the concept of distinct and independent identity of the Panth and to create an environment in which national sentiments and aspirations of the Sikh Panth will find full expression, satisfaction and growth.
3. Eradication of Poverty and Starvation, by increased production and more equitable distribution of wealth and the establishment of a just social order sans any exploitation.

4. Vacation of discrimination on the basis of caste, creed or illiteracy in keeping with basic principles of Sikhism.
5. Striving for the removal of diseases and ill-health, denouncement of use of intoxicants and enlargement of facilities for physical well-being to prepare and enthuse the Nation for the National defence.

First Part

The Shiromani Akali Dal considers it its primary duty to inculcate among the Sikhs, religious fervour and a pride in their rich religious heritage for which it proposes to pursue the following programme:

- (a) Reiteration of the concept of the unicity (Oneness) of God, meditation on His Name, recitation of Gurbani, renewal of faith in the ten Holy Sikh Gurus and the Holy Sri Guru Granth Sahib and other appropriate measures for such a purpose.
- (b) Grooming accomplished preachers, Ragis, Dhadis, and poets in the Sikhs Missionary College for a more effective propagation of Sikhism, Sikh Philosophy, belief in Sikh code of conduct and Kirtan etc., at home and abroad, in schools and colleges, in villages and in cities as indeed at every place.
- (c) Baptising the Sikhs (Amrit Parchar) on a vast scale, with particular emphasis on Schools and Colleges of which the teachers and the taught shall be enthused through regular study circles.
- (d) Reinculcate the religious practice of 'DASWAND' among the Sikhs. (Giving one tenth of one's earnings for the welfare of the Community).
- (e) Generating feelings of respect for the Sikh intellectuals, writers, Preachers, Granthis, etc., who also in turn, would be enthused to improve upon their accomplishments while conforming to the basic Sikh tenets and traditions.
- (f) Streamlining the Gurdwaras administration by giving better training to their workers. Appropriate steps would also be taken to maintain Gurdwara buildings in proper condition. For such a purpose, the party representatives in the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and local Committees would be directed time to time to pull their weight.

- (g) Making appropriate arrangements for the error free publication of Gurbani; promoting research work in the ancient and modern Sikh history as also its publication; rendering Gurbani in other languages and producing first rate literature on Sikhism.
- (h) Taking appropriate steps for the enactment of an All India Gurdwara Act with a view to introduce improvements in the administration of the Gurdwaras throughout the Country and to reintegrate the traditional preaching sects of Sikhism like Udasis and Nirmalas with the mainstream of Sikhism without in any way encroaching on the properties of their respective individual 'maths'.
- (i) Taking such steps as may be necessary to bring the Sikh Gurdwaras all over the world under a single system of administration with a view to run them according to the basic Sikh norms and to pool their sources for the dissemination of Sikhism on a wider and more impressive scale.
- (j) Striving for free access to all those holy Sikh Shrines, including Nankana Sahib from which the Sikh Panth has been separated, for pilgrimage and proper upkeep.

Political Goal

The political goal of the Panth, without doubt, is enshrined in the commandments of the Tenth Lord, in the pages of the Sikh history and in the very heart of the Khalsa Panth, the ultimate objective of which is the pre-eminence of the Khalsa.

The fundamental policy of the Shiromani Akali Dal is to seek the realization of this birth right of the Khalsa through creation of congenial environment and a political set up.

For Attainment of this Aim

1. The Shiromani Akali Dal is determined to strive by all possible means to:

- (a) Have all those Punjabi speaking areas, deliberately kept out of Punjab, such as Dalhousie in Gurdaspur District; Chandi-

garh; Pinjore-Kalka and Ambala Saddar etc., in Ambala District; the entire Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur District; the 'Desh' area of Nalagarh; Shahabad and Gulha blocks of Karnal District; Tohana Sub-Tehsil, Ratia block and Sirsa tehsil of Hissar District and six tehsils of Ganganagar District in Rajasthan; merged with Punjab to constitute a single administrative unit where the interests of the Sikhs and Sikhism are specifically protected.

- (b) In this new Punjab and in other States the centre's interference would be restricted to Defence, Foreign relations, Currency and General Communication; all other departments would be in the jurisdiction of Punjab (and other states) which would be fully entitled to frame own Laws on these Subjects for administration. For the above departments of the Centre, Punjab and other States contribute in proportion to representation in the Parliament.
- (c) The Sikhs and other religious minorities living out of Punjab should be adequately protected against any kind of discrimination.

2. The Shiromani Akali Dal would also endeavour to have the Indian Constitution recast on real federal principles, with equal representation at the centre for all the States.

3. The Shiromani Akali Dal strongly denounces the foreign policy of India framed by the Congress party. It is worthless, hopeless and highly detrimental to the interests of the Country, the Nation and the Mankind at large. Shiromani Akali Dal shall extend its support only to that foreign policy of India which is based on the principles of Peace and National interests. It strongly advocates a policy of peace with all neighbouring countries, especially those inhabited by the Sikhs and their sacred shrines. The Akali Dal is of the firm view that our foreign policy should in no case play second fiddle to that of any other country.

4. The Shiromani Akali Dal shall raise its firm voice against any discrimination against any Sikh (or even other) employees of the central or state Governments. The Shiromani Akali Dal shall also endeavour to maintain the traditional position of the Sikhs in all the wings of the

defence departments and the Panth would pay particular attention to the needs of the Sikh Armymen. The Shiromani Akali Dal would also see that 'kirpan' is accepted as an integral part of the Uniform of the Sikhs in Army.

5. It shall be the primary duty of the Shiromani Akali Dal to help rehabilitate the ex-servicemen of the Defence Departments in the Civil life and for such a purpose it would extend them every help to enable them to organize themselves so that they are able to raise their voice in an effective way for gaining adequate concessions and proper safeguards for a life of self-respect and dignity.

6. The Shiromani Akali Dal is of the firm opinion that all those persons males or females—who have not been convicted of any criminal offence by a court of law, should be at liberty to possess all types of small arms, like revolvers, guns, pistols, rifles, carbines etc., without any licence, the only obligation being their registration.

7. The Shiromani Akali Dal seeks ban on the sale of liquor and other intoxicants and shall press for prohibition on the consumption of intoxicants and smoking on public places.

The Economic Policy and Programme of the Shiromani Akali Dal

as adopted by its Working Committee on 17th October, 1973 at its meeting held at Sri Anandpur Sahib:

Although the mainstay of the Indian economy is agriculture and all those political powers who claim to raise social structure on the basis of justice cannot afford to ignore this fact, yet this is a hard fact that the levers of economic powers, continue to be in the hands of big traders, capitalists and monopolists. Some marginal benefits might have accrued to other classes, but the real benefits of economic growth have been reaped by these categories during the last 26 years after Independence. The political power has also been misappropriated by these classes which are wielding the same for their own benefits. As such, any peaceful attempt to usher in a new era of social justice would have to break the economic and political strongholds of these categories of the people.

The Shiromani Akali Dal strongly advocates that the growing gulf between the rich and the poor, in the urban and rural areas both should be abridged but, it is of the firm opinion that, for such a purpose, the first assault would have to be made on the classes who have assumed all the reins of economic power in their hands. In rural areas, the Akali Dal determined to help the weaker classes, like the scheduled castes, backward classes, landless tenants, ordinary labourers, the poor and middle class farmers. For such a purpose, it stands for meaningful land reforms which envisage a ceiling of 30 standard acres and the distribution of excess land among the poor farmers.

The motto of the Shiromani Akali Dal is to provide employment for all, requisite food and clothing for all, a house to live in, suitable transport and to create means to fulfil all those necessities of a civilized life without which life appears incomplete.

As such, the economic policy of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall endeavour to achieve the following objectives:

Agriculture Sector

During recent years the agriculture sector has witnessed land reforms and green revolution. The Shiromani Akali Dal undertakes to enrich the green revolution by an increase in yield per acre. It shall also ensure perceptible improvement in the standard of living of all rural classes, more particularly of the poor and the middle class farmers, as also the landless labourers. For such a purpose it plans to work on the following lines :

- (a) Introducing land reforms and measures for increasing agricultural production with a view to remove the growing gap between the rich and the poor. For such a purpose the existing legislation on land ceiling would have to be revised and a firm ceiling of 30 standard acres per family would have to be enforced with proprietary rights to the actual tillers. The excess land would be distributed among the landless tenants and poor farmers, while the cultivable government land lying unused shall be distributed among the landless classes, especially the scheduled castes and tribes. While distributing such lands the interests of Harijan and Landless labourers would be particularly taken care of. The Akali Dal would also consider the possibilities of allowing the tenants to service loans by mortgaging land under their plough, as also prohibiting the scheduled castes/tribes and backward classes from mortgaging the land distributed among them.
- (b) The Shiromani Akali Dal shall work for the modernization of farming and would also try to enable the middle class and poor farmers to seek loans and inputs made available by different agencies.
- (c) The Shiromani Akali Dal shall try to fix the prices of the agricultural produce on the basis of the returns of the middle class farmers. Such prices would be notified well before the sowing season and only the State governments would be empowered to fix such prices.

- (d) The Shiromani Akali Dal stands for complete nationalization of the trade in foodgrains and as such, shall endeavour to nationalize the wholesale trade in foodgrains through the establishment of State agencies.
- (e) The Shiromani Akali Dal strongly oppose the demarcation of food zones and the attendant restrictions on the movements of foodgrains. The whole country should be the Single food zone.

The party shall make special efforts to bring the Thein Dam and the Bhatinda Thermal plant to a speedy completion so that increased and cheaper power and irrigation facilities are available. Decsure efforts would be made for the establishment of an Atomic power station in the State.

Co-operative societies would be set up in the rural areas. In all those areas where canal water is not available small irrigation projects would be taken in hand.

Industrial Sector

The Shiromani Akali Dal strongly advocates that all Key industries should be brought under the public sector.

It is of the opinion that basic consumer industries should be immediately nationalized to stabilize the prices of the consumer goods and to save the poor consumer from exploitation at the hands of the industrialists and the middleman.

The public Sector industries should be established in such a way that the imbalance between different States is removed.

A planned effort to establish agro-industries in the rural areas should be made to relieve the growing population pressure in the urban areas. The industrial management should be democratized by enabling the workers to have a say in the management and by fair distribution of profits between the Industrialists and the workers. The credit agencies, especially the nationalized banks, should be directed to invest a fixed ratio of their deposits in the rural areas. Every industrial unit beyond

worth one crore assets should be brought under the public sector. The Akali Dal stands for progressive nationalization of Transport.

The Public Sector units should be fully autonomous and manned by competent young executive drawn from a central pool of talent.

Economic Policy

The Shiromani Akali Dal demands that the whole tax structure be revised in such a way that the evasion of taxes and the flow of black money is completely eradicated. It stands for a simple and straight-forward system of taxation. The present infrastructure of taxation weighs heavily against the poor and enables the rich to by pass it. The party stands for a more realistic policy in this respect so that the black money running a parallel economy may be usefully employed.

Workers, Middle Class Employees and Agricultural Labour

For their benefits the Shiromani Akali Dal would try its best :

1. To fix need based wages for industrial workers.
2. To bring progressive improvement in the standard of living of government employees.
3. To re-assess the minimum wages of agricultural labour and to standard of living for them.
5. To take necessary steps to provide roofed accommodation for standard of living for them.
5. To take necessary steps to provide roofed accommodation for the rural and urban poor.

Unemployment

The Shiromani Akali Dal stands for full employment in the country. For such a purpose it is of the firm opinion that the Govt. must provide immediate employment to the educated and trained persons, otherwise reasonable unemployment allowance should be paid to them. This amount

should be shared by the centre and the state government. The minimum rates of such an allowance should be as under:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Matric and or trained hands | Rs. 50/- per month |
| 2. B.A. | Rs. 75/- " " |
| 3. M.A. | Rs. 100/- " " |
| 4. Engineers and Doctors | Rs. 150/- " " |
| 5. Other trained Labour | Rs. 50/- " " |

All persons above the age of 65 should be given old age pension.

Weaker Section and Backward Classes

The Shiromani Akali Dal shall try to improve the economic conditions of the backward classes and weaker sections of Society by extending them facilities for education employment and other concessions, to enable them to come at par with other sections of society. Foodgrains at cheaper rates would be made available to them.

¹These rates were fixed in 1973.

Educational and Cultural

The Shiromani Akali Dal aims at grooming the Sikhs into a strong and sturdy Nation highly educated, fully aware of its fundamental rights, very well versed in various arts and ever ready to honour the more outstanding of its sons. For such a purpose:

1. The Shiromani Akali Dal regards the educationalists, scientists, philosophers, poets, writers and artists of the Sikh Nation as its most prized asset.
2. The Shiromani Akali Dal stands for compulsory and free education upto matric standard.
3. To check the growing rate of unemployment, Shiromani Akali Dal would try to introduce such courses of study as would enable their students to get immediate employment on completion of a course.
4. The Shiromani Akali Dal shall make arrangements for the education of the rural and weaker Classes and would also make provision for the higher education of the more promising students among them.
5. Punjabi would be a compulsory subject for all students upto the matric standard.
6. Special attention would be paid to the science and technical fields of education, with particular emphasis on the study of Nuclear physics and space science in the Universities.
7. The Shiromani Akali Dal shall try to improve the standard of games and bring them on level with international standards.

Dated : 1-8-1977

Sd/-
Giani Ajmer Singh
Secretary,
Shiromani Akali Dal.

ANNEXURE IV

Calendar of Meetings with the Representatives of the Akali Dal, 1981-84

A. Meetings taken by the Prime Minister

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Venue</i> | <i>Participants</i> |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. 16-10-1981 | South Block, New Delhi. | S/Shri H.S. Longowal, G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh. Smt. Indira Gandhi. Shri C.R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, Cabinet Secretary. Shri P.C. Alexander, Principal Secretary to P.M. Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, Home Secretary. |
| 2. 26-11-1981 | Parliament House, New Delhi. | S/Shri H.S. Longowal, G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh. Smt. Indira Gandhi. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao (Union Minister) S/Shri C.R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi. |
| 3. 5-4-1982 | Parliament House, New Delhi | S/Shri H.S. Longowal, G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, Balwant Singh, Bhan Singh, R.S. Bhatia P.S. Oberoi, Ravi Inder Singh. Smt. Indira Gandhi. S/Shri Zail Singh, Pranab Mukherjee (Union Ministers) S/Shri C.R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi. |

B. Meetings taken by Members of the Union Cabinet

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Venue</i> | <i>Participants</i> |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1. 23-10-1981 | } Office of the Minister of External Affairs, New Delhi. | S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh, Ajit Singh Sarhadi, Bhan Singh. |
| 2. 24-10-1981 | | Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. |
| 3. 11-1-1983 | } Raj Bhawan, Chandigarh. | S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Sukhjinder Singh, Balwant Singh, G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, J.S. Talwandi, Ravi Inder Singh. |
| 4. 18-1-1983 | | S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman, Shiv Shankar (Union Ministers) |
| | | Shri T.N. Chaturvedi. |

C. Secret meetings

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| 1. 16-11-1982 | } 27, Safdarjung Road, New Delhi. | S/Shri P.S. Badal, Balwant Singh, Ravi Inder Singh, R.S. Bhatia. |
| 2. 17-11-1982 | | S/Shri R. Venkataraman, P. C. Sethi, Shiv Shankar (Union Ministers). |
| | | Shri Amarendra Singh, MP. |
| | | S/Shri P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi. |
| 3. 17-1-1983 | Do. | S/Shri G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, Ravi Inder Singh. |
| | | S/Shri Rajiv Gandhi, MP, Amarendra Singh, MP. |
| | | S/Shri C. R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander. |
| 4. 24-1-1984 | A Guest House in New Delhi | S/Shri G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, Ravi Inder Singh. |
| | | S/Shri Rajiv Gandhi, MP, Amarendra Singh, MP. |
| | | S/Shri C.R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander. |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Venue</i> | <i>Participants</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 5. 27-3-1984 | A private house in Chandigarh | S/Shri G.S. Tohra, S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh Ramuwalia, R.S. Cheema. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, S/Shri C. R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, M.M.K. Wali, Home Secretary. |
| 6. 28-3-1984 | A Guest House in New Delhi | Shri P.S. Badal. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao S/Shri C.R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, M.M.K. Wali. |
| 7. 29 3 1984 | A private house in Chandigarh | S/Shri G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh Ramuwalia, R.S. Cheema. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao S/Shri C.R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, M.M.K. Wali, Prem Kumar (Special Secretary Home). |
| 8. 21-4-1984 | Airport Lounge, Chandigarh | S/Shri G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh Ramuwalia, R.S. Cheema. S/Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Pranab Mukherjee. S/Shri C. R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, M.M.K. Wali, Prem Kumar. |
| 9. 26-5-1984 | A Guest House in New Delhi | S/Shri G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal, S.S. Barnala. S/Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Pranab Mukherjee, Shiv Shankar. |

D. Tripartite Meetings

| | <i>Date</i> | <i>Venue</i> | <i>Participants</i> |
|----|-------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | 24-1-1983 | Parliament Annexe, New Delhi. | <p>S/Shri S. S. Barnala, Balwant Singh and Ravi Inder Singh.</p> <p>S/Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, K.P. Unnikrishnan, H.S. Surjeet, Yogendra Sharma, C.T. Dandapani, Madhu Dandavate, Chandrajit Yadav, Ramlal Rahi, Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, Bhai Mahavir, Sarup Singh and Ghulam Rasool Kochack. (Opposition leaders)</p> <p>S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman, P.V. Narasimha Rao, C.M. Stephen, Shiv Shankar and Bishma Narain Singh. (Union Ministers)</p> <p>S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi, P.P. Nayyar, Special Secretary (Home), M.G. Padhye, Secretary (Irrigation).</p> |
| 2. | 25-1-1983 | Parliament Annexe, New Delhi. | <p>S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh, Ravi Inder Singh.</p> <p>S/Shri Ramvilas Paswan, K.P. Unnikrishnan, H.S. Surjeet, Yogendra Sharma, C.T. Dandapani, Chandrajit Yadav, Madhu Dandavate, Ramlal Rahi, Q.M. Banatwala, Bhai Mahavir, Sarup Singh, Ghulam Rasool Kochack. (Opposition leaders).</p> <p>S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman, C.M. Stephen, Shiv Shankar, Bishma Narain Singh.</p> <p>S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi, M.G. Padhye.</p> |

3. 8-2-1983 Parliament Annexe, New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh, Ravi Inder Singh.
- S/Shri Sushil Chand Mohanta, Yogendra Sharma, Bhai Mahavir, L.K. Advani, Sarup Singh, Madhu Dandavate, Ghulam Rasool Kochak, H.S. Surjeet, Chandrajit Yadav, Harikesh Bahadur. (Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman, P.V. Narasimha Rao, Shiv Shankar, Buta Singh, Bhisma Narain Singh.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi, M.G. Padhye.
4. 10-2-1983 Parliament Annexe, New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh, Ravi Inder Singh.
- S/Shri Sushil Chand Mohanta, Yogendra Sharma, L.K. Advani, Sarup Singh, Madhu Dandavate, H.S. Surjeet, Chandrajit Yadav, Harikesh Bahadur, Smt. S. Muthu. (Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman, Shiv Shankar, Buta Singh, Bhisma Narain Singh.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi, M.G. Padhye.
5. 15-2-1983 Parliament Annexe, New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh, Ravi Inder Singh.
- S/Shri Sushil Chand Mohanta, K.P. Unnikrishnan, H.S. Surjeet, Yogendra Sharma, Chandrajit Yadav, Madhu Dandavate, Harikesh Bahadur, L.K. Advani, Sarup Singh, Ghulam Rasool Kochack. (Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman, P.V. Narasimha Rao, Buta Singh.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi, P.P. Nayyar, M.G. Padhye.

6. 18-2-1983 Parliament
Annexe,
New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh,
Ravi Inder Singh.
- S/Shri Chitta Basu, K.P. Unnikrishnan,
H.S. Surjeet, Yogendra Sharma,
Madhu Dandavate, Chandrajit Yadav,
Harikesh Bahadur, L.K. Advani, Sarup Singh
(Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman,
Shiv Shankar.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib,
P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi,
M.G. Padhye.
7. 19-2-1983 Parliament
Annexe,
New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh,
Ravi Inder Singh.
- S/Shri K.P. Unnikrishnan, H.S. Surjeet,
Yogendra Sharma, Chandrajit Yadav,
Chitta Basu, Madhu Dandavate, Sushil Chand
Mohanta, Harikesh Bahadur, L.K. Advani,
Sarup Singh. (Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, R. Venkataraman,
Shiv Shankar, Buta Singh.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib,
P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi,
M.G. Padhye, P.P. Nayyar.
8. 20-2-1983 Parliament
Annexe,
New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, Balwant Singh,
Ravi Inder Singh.
- S/Shri K.P. Unnikrishnan, H.S. Surjeet,
Yogendra Sharma, Chandrajit Yadav,
Madhu Dandavate, Sarup Singh,
Chitta Basu, Sushil Chand Mohanta,
Harikesh Bahadur, L.K. Advani.
(Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, Pranab
Mukherjee, Buta Singh.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib,
P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi,
M.G. Padhye, P.P. Nayyar.

9. 14-2-1984 Parliament
Annexe,
New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, G.S. Tohra, P.S. Badal,
Balwant Singh, R.S. Cheema.
- S/Shri Jagjivan Ram, A.B. Vajpayee,
L. K. Advani, Chandra Shekhar, Biju Patnaik,
S.C. Mohanta, Madhu Dandavate,
S.N. Mishra, Sarup Singh, H.S. Surjeet,
Chandrajit Yadav, Lok Nath Joshi,
Dharam Bir Sinha, Ghulam Rasool Kochak,
Chitta Basu (Opposition leaders)
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, Pranab Mukherjee,
Shiv Shankar, Buta Singh.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib,
P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi,
P.P. Nayyar, Prem Kumar.
10. 15-2-1984 Parliament
Annexe,
New Delhi. S/Shri S.S. Barnala, G.S. Tohra,
P.S. Badal, Balwant Singh,
R.S. Cheema.
- S/Shri Jagjivan Ram, L.K. Advani,
Chandra Shekhar, Biju Patnaik,
Madhu Dandavate, S.C. Mohanta,
S.N. Mishra, Sarup Singh, H.S. Surjeet,
Samar Mukherjee, Lok Nath Joshi,
Dharam Bir Sinha, Ghulam Rasool Kochak,
Indradeep Sinha, Chitta Basu.
- S/Shri P.C. Sethi, P.V. Narasimha
Rao, Pranab Mukherjee, Buta Singh,
Shiv Shankar.
- S/Shri Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib,
P.C. Alexander, T.N. Chaturvedi,
P.P. Nayyar, Prem Kumar.

ANNEXURE V

Statement of Home Minister in Parliament on February 28, 1984

THE SITUATION IN PUNJAB

The House will discuss the situation in Punjab against the sombre background of continuing violence against innocent persons. It is tragic that this violence is being deliberately engineered to create bitterness and distrust between Hindus and Sikhs. Not only the Government but the entire country is concerned over these trends which militate against national unity. It is therefore necessary that the debate should keep the perspective of national unity in view so that it may contribute to a solution of the problems facing us today.

Brief Background

Before I deal with recent tragic happenings in Punjab, I would like to give the House a brief background of the talks that Government have been having with the representatives of the Shiromani Akali Dal on the various demands of the Party.

The Government have been discussing over a long period with the Shiromani Akali Dal the various demands raised by them. The demands fall into three broad categories, viz. (1) those which concern the Sikh community as a religious group; (2) those which relate to the State of Punjab vis-a-vis other States; and (3) those which relate to certain general issues.

Religious Demands Accepted

The Government have in effect accepted all the religious demands of the Akali Dal. The Government have already announced that in the walled city of Amritsar including Harmandir Sahib and areas around

Durgiana Temple, the sale of tobacco, liquor and meat will be banned within a demarcated area. Government also agreed to direct relay from Jalandhar Station of All India Radio of Gurbani from the Golden Temple for a duration of one and a half hours in the morning and half-an-hour in the evening. The carrying of Kirpans, conforming to certain specifications, by Sikhs on domestic flights has also been agreed to. Even in regard to the All India Gurdwara Act, which affects States other than Punjab and Sikh communities in those States, Government indicated their readiness to consider the formulation of a Bill covering specified historical Gurdwaras in consultation with the SGPC, State Governments concerned and other interested parties. However, the Akalis have been insisting that consultation should only be with the SGPC and that it is for the Government to get the concurrence of all other parties concerned before enacting the Bill. The Akali Dal has not furnished a list of historical Gurdwaras and at different meetings, different figures have been given, ranging from 10 to 30.

As regards relay of Gurbani from the Golden Temple the Akalis are asking for longer duration. Even though the Government had made arrangements for installing facilities for the relay of Gurbani and had deputed personnel for this purpose, Government have not received the requisite cooperation in the installation of the equipment.

River Waters Issue

As regards river waters dispute, the Government's stand has always been that it concerns the entire people of Punjab as well as of Haryana and, therefore, a settlement on this issue has to take into account the interests of both States.

The Government were willing to refer the river waters dispute between Punjab and Haryana to a Tribunal presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court to be appointed under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act. The Akali Dal has not maintained a consistent position on this issue. At one stage it was only a question of the Ravi-Beas waters. Subsequently, the question of Jamuna waters was raised by the Akali Dal. They have also sought to re-open the question of the allocation to Rajasthan, which the House will recollect was settled much earlier. The Government's stand is clear. It is only the dispute between Punjab

and Haryana relating to the surplus Ravi-Beas waters arising as a result of the Punjab Re-organisation Act that should be adjudicated upon by a Tribunal. The issues relating to Rajasthan's share and the question of the Jamuna waters cannot be thrown open in this context.

Territorial Dispute

As regards the territorial dispute, Members will recall that the Shah Commission had given Chandigarh to Haryana and it was in 1970 that Smt. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister decided that Chandigarh should go to Punjab and that Abohar and Fazilka will go to Haryana and that all other claims and counter claims will be referred to a Commission. The Akali Dal demand is that while Chandigarh should be immediately transferred to Punjab, all other claims and counter claims including those relating to Abohar and Fazilka should be referred to a Commission. All sections of the Haryana people are opposed to this.

The Government have done their utmost to be helpful, without being unfair to any State, and have announced their willingness to abide by any one of the following four alternatives:

- (i) Implementation of the 1970 Award;
- (ii) Referring all disputes and claims including the question of Chandigarh to a new Commission;
- (iii) Dividing Chandigarh between Punjab and Haryana and referring the remaining disputes to a Commission; and
- (iv) Adopting any other alternative acceptable to both the States.

The Akali Dal is not willing to accept any of these alternatives.

Centre-State Relations

Under the general issues, the main demand of the Akali Dal has been for the appointment of a Committee of legal experts to review the question of Centre-State relations, as demanded by their Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Government have already appointed the Sarkaria Commission with appropriate terms of reference for examining the issues relating to Centre-State relations consistent with the requirements of

national unity and integrity. The Akali Dal is insistent that the Government should make a specific mention of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution while referring the matter to the Sarkaria Commission. Honourable Members will agree that the kind of propositions contained in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution cannot be subscribed to by those who have the unity and integrity of the nation at heart. At one stage Akali Dal agreed to give up this demand but have subsequently revived it. The Akali Dal is at liberty to place any submissions which they wish to make, before the Sarkaria Commission, which falls within its terms of reference.

No assurances from Akali Dal

In the course of negotiations, Government have sought assurances from the Akali Dal that religious places should not be used for the storage of arms or for harbouring those wanted by law enforcement authorities. Assurances were also sought that disputes with religious groups should be settled peacefully and without violence. No such assurances have been forthcoming. On the other hand, violence has escalated and the Golden Temple Complex has been allowed to be used for hoisting the so called Khalistan Flag. The perpetrators of the seditious act are yet to be surrendered to be dealt with according to law.

And now the Akali Dal has raised a new demand, asking for amendment of Article 25 of the Constitution. What is more, instead of proceeding to seek an amendment through constitutional means, they have resorted to a programme of burning a part of the Constitution. This deliberate display of disrespect to the Constitution has shocked the entire nation.

Government's Readiness for Negotiations

Government have always expressed their readiness to find solutions through negotiations. It was in this spirit that the Government invited the leaders of Opposition parties to participate in the talks with the Akali Dal. The tripartite conference on the 14th February was one more such effort in this direction.

The main issue discussed at the tripartite meeting was the one relating to territories. Some useful suggestions emerged and the meeting was adjourned to the next day to resume further discussions on them. In the meanwhile communal violence broke out in various parts of Punjab, and the meeting decided, following the suggestions made by the Opposition leaders and Akali Dal representatives, to adjourn for a short interval to enable the Akali Dal leaders to return to Punjab and help in the process of restoring peace and normalcy in that State.

The general expectation was that the meeting would be resumed after three or four days. In fact the meeting was proposed to be convened on the 20th. But Government have learnt with regret the reported decision of the Akali Dal that they would not participate further in the tripartite talks. Meanwhile, acts of violence on a considerably escalated scale have continued in Punjab. The sudden eruption of violence in several places in Haryana has aggravated the situation.

Continuing Agitation

Hon'ble Members are aware that the Akali Dal had given a call for a Punjab Bandh on the 8th February, as a part of their continuing agitation. Even though there was no loss of life, the Bandh resulted in serious disruption of road and rail traffic and considerable inconvenience to the public.

A call for a Bandh in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh on the 14th February was given by the Hindu Suraksha Samiti supported by certain other organisations. The Bandh was opposed by some organisations and several clashes and incidents of violence took place. Amongst these was the vandalism indulged in by a mob at the Amritsar railway station resulting in damage to articles which hurt the sentiments of one community. In another incident there was unprovoked firing from inside the Golden Temple complex in which four persons, including a policeman, lost their lives. In the clashes that took place on that day, 11 lives were lost and 76 persons were injured, including 18 policemen. The situation in Himachal Pradesh and Haryana remained by and large peaceful on that day.

Certain incidents followed in other places in Punjab and in Haryana. Bandhs, hartals and sporadic violence were reported from several places. On the 17th instant, there was a very serious incident in Amritsar. There was unprovoked firing from the Golden Temple complex at the police personnel on duty. The policemen returned the fire in self defence. Intermittent firing continued for a considerable time causing serious tension and fear among the people of the locality. The Home Secretary was deputed to visit the more seriously affected places in Haryana and Punjab.

On the 19th there was another serious incident of clashes in Panipat between two communities resulting in the death of eight persons. Forty-six persons were rescued by the police from a place of worship. The police had to resort to firing to bring the situation under control. Reinforcements of para-military forces were rushed to Haryana. I visited Haryana on the 20th and reviewed the situation with the Chief Minister and representatives of different sections of the public. The Minister of Energy visited Amritsar and held similar discussions there.

Extremist Elements

Unfortunately, the situation in Punjab got aggravated by a series of acts of violence and killings by extremist elements. Several incidents of killings have taken place almost every day since 21st February and, according to reports received so far, 44 lives have been lost. The number of persons injured is over 58.

The wanton killings of innocent persons, including women and children, have shocked the nation. I am sure this House will join me in expressing sympathy once again with the families of those who have been killed and in condemning the forces which are trying to spread terror. I have no doubt that the House will reiterate its abhorrence at the use of religious places for storage of arms and harbouring of criminals wanted by law enforcement authorities.

Communal Violence Condemned

Communal violence, destruction of properties and desecration of places of worship, whether done by Hindus or Sikhs, deserves the

strongest condemnation. Neither can there be any justification for what is claimed to be counter-violence or retaliatory violence. I wish to assure the House that Government will take every possible step to stamp out violence ruthlessly, whatever may be the cost. Action has already been taken to strengthen and streamline the law and order machinery in Punjab and strict instructions have been issued to deal with violence wherever it occurs—Punjab, Haryana, or elsewhere—with utmost firmness. The situation in Haryana has improved and I trust it will remain peaceful.

Government have throughout expressed their readiness for a settlement through negotiations. However, I am sure that the House and the nation will agree that terrorism and violence should not be allowed to have a premium in resolving disputes.

ANNEXURE VI

Prime Minister's Broadcast to the Nation on June 2, 1984

Fellow citizens,

These past months my heart has been heavy with sorrow, each day's tragedies adding to the anguish. Punjab is uppermost in all our minds. The whole country is deeply concerned. The matter has been discussed and spoken about time and again. Yet an impression has been assiduously created that it is not being dealt with. My colleagues and I have repeatedly explained, in Parliament and outside, Government's readiness to accept all reasonable demands put forward by the Akali Dal when they started their agitation, but new demands continue to be pressed. Unfortunately the leadership of the agitation appears to have been seized by a group of fanatics and terrorists whose instruments for achieving whatever they may have in view are murder, arson and loot. Large-scale violence and terrorism grip the State.

Let us look at these problems and issues in perspective. In 1981 the Akali Dal presented a large number of demands. As soon as we received their memorandum I began a dialogue with them. Since then the process of consultation and discussion has not been interrupted by Government. From the very beginning we regarded these issues as national issues, transcending narrow party interests. We took the opposition parties into confidence and associated them with the discussions in an effort to work out a solution that would command the widest acceptance.

Throughout these discussions our attitude was one of accommodation of all reasonable demands. Turmoil and violence in Punjab benefit no one except those who want to undermine the unity and integrity of India. It was against the background of these larger national considerations that we have been trying to evolve a consensus on the disputed claims and counter-claims.

Why then, some people ask, has there been no final settlement? This question should legitimately be addressed to those who are unwilling to give up morchas and bandhs. Whenever the demands did not affect the rights of other States or where they could be fitted into a wider framework, the Government had no hesitation in accepting them. For example, the Government accepted all Akali Dal demands generally referred to as "religious" and have initiated action to implement the decisions. The sale of tobacco, liquor and meat within demarcated areas in the walled city of Amritsar has been banned. Government agreed to arrange for the direct relay on All India Radio of the Kirtan from the Golden Temple. However, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has so far denied facilities within the Temple for such relay. Sikh passengers have been allowed to carry kirpans on domestic flights of a size agreed to between the representatives of the Akali Dal and Government. The Government also agreed to consider the formulation of an All India Gurdwara Bill for historical gurdwaras in India and started discussions with various concerned parties.

The demand for the amendment of Article 25 of the Constitution was not included in the original list. However, we did not wish to take a legalistic attitude. When this demand was presented belatedly, and even though it was backed by a highly reprehensible agitation of burning copies of the Constitution, Government offered to consult the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and other representatives of the Sikh community as well as legal experts, and undertake such legislation by way of amendment of Article 25(2) (b) as may be necessary to remove doubts on this point.

On the question of Centre-State relations, a high-level commission under Justice Ranjit Singh Sarkaria has already been established. We have informed the Akali Dal that they are free to present to it any submissions on this subject which fall within the terms of reference of the Commission.

The two remaining demands involve the rights and claims of States other than Punjab. These relate to river waters and territories. On the river waters issue, Government agreed to refer the dispute between Punjab and Haryana on the surplus waters of the Ravi-Beas to a Tribunal presided over by a Supreme Court Judge. There was agreement on this at a tripartite meeting between the Government and representatives

of the Akali Dal and of Opposition Parties, but the Akali Dal now seeks to reopen the decisions reached as early as 1955 regarding the sharing of waters with Rajasthan and has also raised the issue of the Yamuna waters.

As regards territorial disputes, I have repeatedly stated that Chandigarh will go to Punjab, provided Haryana gets its share of the some Hindi speaking areas which are now in Punjab. In spite of our best efforts the two States have not been able to reach an agreement on the territories to be transferred. Government had suggested that the whole territorial dispute including Chandigarh and Abohar-Fazilka could be referred to a Commission whose decision should be binding on both States. Unfortunately, the Akali Dal has not accepted our suggestions regarding the transfer of areas to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh or of reference of the whole dispute to a Commission.

I have spoken of the various demands of the Akali Dal, and Government's stand on them in great detail only to remove the impression which seems to persist among some people that Government have not done enough to reach a settlement. May I ask, in all seriousness, what more can any Government do when disputes affect more than one State? The reality that has emerged is not the adequacy or otherwise of the terms of settlement offered by the Government on the various Akali Dal demands, but the fact that the agitation is now in the hands of a few who have scant regard for the unity and integrity of our country or concern for communal peace and harmony or the continued economic progress of Punjab. Every three or four months a new morcha is started, and Punjab is torn by a senseless and tragic strife. Terrorists and anti-national elements have gained the upper hand. Innocent people, Sikhs and Hindus, have been killed. There is arson, looting and sabotage. Holy shrines have been turned into shelters for criminals and murderers. Their sanctity as places of worship has been undermined. A deliberate and systematic campaign is spreading bitterness and hatred between Hindus and Sikhs. And worst of all, the unity and integrity of our motherland is being openly challenged by a few who find refuge in holy shrines.

In spite of this vitiated atmosphere, we kept talking to Akali leaders in the hope of reaching an understanding. To our great disappointment issues could not be clinched. Whenever a settlement seemed in

sight, they came up with fresh demands or hardened their attitude on matters earlier agreed on. The leadership which started the agitation seems to have lost the will and the capacity to control its consequences.

What do we do in this new situation? I should like to clarify two points. First, in spite of all the disappointment experienced during the last two years of talks and negotiations with the representatives of the Akali Dal, I still appeal to them to accept the framework of settlement the Government has outlined. If any misgivings or doubts on any issue remain, let us sit round the table and find a solution. In a democracy the right and only way to settle problems is through discussions. Second, while the Government is committed to solving all pending problems through negotiations, it should be obvious that no Government can allow violence and terrorism any premium in the settlement of issues. Those who indulge in such anti-social and anti-national activities should make no mistake about this.

A special word to my Sikh brothers and sisters, whether they are in the Punjab, the rest of India or outside India: India belongs equally to Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains, Parsis and others. All of them have equal rights and must get equal respect and protection. Sikhism itself was born as a faith to bring together people of different religions. The life of Guru Nanak Dev symbolised tolerance. The great Gurus taught love and brotherhood. The moral of the Granth Sahib is truth and kindness. In the long and glorious age of national independence, Punjab and the Sikhs made a shining contribution. Let not a minuscule minority among the Sikhs be allowed to trample under foot civilised norms for which Sikhism is well known, and to tarnish the image of a brave and patriotic community.

This is not the time for anger. Too much blood has been shed. Violence leads to counter-violence and some misguided Hindus seem to think that this is the heroic way to meet terrorism. There can be nothing more senseless and dangerous than such thoughts and actions. We have to recognise anew our responsibility to the future—a future of which all can be proud. Tonight I ask each one of you to work for this future. The people of Punjab, on whom history has cast great burdens and responsibilities, should think clearly of what lies ahead. Should you unwittingly become parties to the sinister designs of those

who want to see India weak, and sinking into chaos and instability? I am deeply conscious of Government's responsibilities but when feelings are high and so much is at stake, it does become the duty of every citizen to cooperate with Government in putting down violence which mars the fair name of the land of five rivers, and in courageously facing up to the fanatics and terrorists. At this juncture another agitation will not bring settlement closer but will give more strength to anti-national elements. Even at this late hour, I appeal to the Akali Dal leaders to call off their threatened agitation and accept the framework of peaceful settlement which we have offered.

Let us join together to heal wounds. The best memorial to those who have lost their lives is to restore normalcy and harmony in the Punjab which they loved and served. To all sections of Punjabis I appeal: "Don't shed blood, shed hatred."

Jai Hind.

ANNEXURE VII

Calendar of Main Incidents of Violence in Punjab during 1981—1984

- March 20, 1981: On the occasion of the Hola Mohalla fair at Anandpur Sahib, District Ropar, a Kesari flag purporting to be a symbol of 'New Republic of Khalistan' was hoisted and a Nihang fired five shots in salutation.
- April 8, 1981: Two persons, Hazara Singh and Ujagar Singh crossed over to Pakistan carrying an authority letter signed by Shri Balbir Singh Sandhu. This was supposed to signify a protest on the issue of Sikh pilgrims visiting Punja Sahib in Pakistan on the occasion of Baisakhi.
- April 13, 1981: Shri Balbir Singh Sandhu handed over to Shri Gopal Singh Shahid a document purporting to be a passport in the name of the so called "Republic of Khalistan", before the Akal Takhat, Amritsar.
- April 16, 1981: At a convention organised by the Shiromani Akali Dal (Talwandi group) at Anandpur Sahib, one Rupinder Singh tore off pages of the Constitution of India.
- May 31, 1981: A procession was taken out by AISSF volunteers, followers of Shri Bhindranwale and others, at Amritsar. Some miscreants indulged in violence and set some khokhas on fire.
- July 26, 1981: The Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal group) organised a World Sikh Convention at Amritsar and laid stress on the alleged discrimination against Sikhs.

- August 5, 1981: Shri Shadilal Angra, President, Municipal Committee and a Nirankari Pramukh of Anandpur Sahib was murdered at Anandpur Sahib, District Ropar.
- September 9, 1981: Lala Jagat Narain was murdered on his way from Patiala to Jalandhar.
- September 13-14, 1981: The police went to Chandukalan to arrest Shri Bhindranwale in connection with the case relating to the murder of Lala Jagat Narain but Shri Bhindranwale had already left. There was subsequent violence when some followers of Shri Bhindranwale fired upon the police party. There was an exchange of fire and incidents of arson occurred.
- September 20, 1981: Shri Bhindranwale was arrested in connection with the case relating to the murder of Lala Jagat Narain. Shri Bhindranwale's followers thereafter turned violent and attacked the police with weapons and indulged in arson and loot. The police had to resort to firing. Eleven persons died.
- September 20, 1981: After the arrest of Shri Bhindranwale at Chowk Mehta, three Sikh youth on motor cycle fired at Hindus in a market place at Jalandhar. Four persons were killed and 12 injured.
- September 21, 1981: Six unidentified Sikh youths fired in the market at Tarn Taran killing one Hindu and injuring 13 others including two Sikhs.
- September 26, 1981: A bomb explosion took place in the Central Telegraph Office at Patiala.
- September 26, 1981: Sabotage of railway track occurred between Rayya and Butari railway stations in Amritsar district resulting in the derailment of some bogies of a goods train. The same day near Mirthal railway station in Himachal Pradesh

(Pathankot-Jalandhar section), the railway track was found to be tampered with.

- September 28, 1981: A cut was detected in the railway track between Nasrula and Sham Churasi railway station in Hoshiarpur district.
- September 29, 1981: An Indian Airlines plane was hijacked to Lahore.
- October 3, 1981: The railway track was tampered with in the Sirhind-Nangal section near Nagawari railway station in Ropar district.
- October 6-7, 1981: Cases of explosion occurred in various places including four places in Amritsar, the court of Sub-Divisional Magistrate in Tarn Taran, Amritsar district, the residence of the Block Development Officer, Bhatinda, the residence of the Sub-Divisional Officer (Civil), Hoshiarpur and the residence of SDM, Moga, District Faridkot.
- October 9-10, 1981: Two country made bombs were thrown at the residence of the General Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar. An explosion occurred in the residence of a police Assistant Sub-Inspector in Moga, District Faridkot.
- There was an explosion at a petrol pump in Chuma in Gurdaspur district.
- October 15, 1981: Shri Bhindranwale was released from custody.
- October 16, 1981: Shri Niranjana Singh, IAS, a Nirankari was attacked and his brother was killed in the Punjab Government Secretariat Office at Chandigarh.
- October 23, 1981: Mohinder Pal, a Hindu Sarpanch of village Panchhta, Kapurthala district was killed.

- November 1, 1981: An explosion took place in the office of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Patiala range.
- November 14, 1981: A bomb exploded in the Lavatory of the Piccadilly Cinema at Chandigarh.
- November 16, 1981: Prahlad Chand, a Nirankari Pramukh and his father were shot dead by 2 Sikh motor cyclists at Kapurthala while the brother of Prahlad Chand was injured.
- November 19, 1981: At village Daheru in District Ludhiana a police party was fired upon killing an Inspector of Police and a Constable.
- November 29, 1981: A big explosion took place within gurdwara Chowk Mehta in which three inmates of the Gurdwara were killed.
- December 27, 1981: A Nirankari was fired upon and injured at village Mucchal, District Amritsar.
- January 21, 1982: An explosion occurred in Gurdwara Ram Saran in village Mahesh, District Gurdaspur.
- February 23, 1982: Suraj Prakash a Nirankari, was shot at and seriously injured at Moga, Faridpur district.
- March 30, 1982: One Prakash Singh, a Nirankari, was fired upon by two Sikhs and subsequently succumbed to his injuries.
- April 13, 1982: A World Sikh Convention was organised by the Shiromani Akali Dal (Talwandi group) to consider the Anandpur Sahib resolution and that Sikhs were a separate nation.
- April 24, 1982: The Shiromani Akali Dal organised a 'Nahar Roko' (block the canals) agitation.

- April 25-26, 1982: Severed heads of cows were placed by miscreants in front of temples at Amritsar. The Dal Khalsa claimed responsibility.
- April 27, 1982: Granth Sahib was reportedly set on fire in a Gurdwara at Chaurasta Attari, District Amritsar.
- May 1, 1982: The Dal Khalsa and the National Council of Khalistan were declared as unlawful associations under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967.
- May, 1982: During the month a number of incidents of desecration of gurdwaras and Hindu temples occurred especially in Amritsar district.
- May 22, 1982: Four Sikhs resorted to indiscriminate firing in the main bazaar at Patti, Amritsar district, which resulted in the death of four persons and injuries to several others.
- May 24, 1982: The Shiromani Akali Dal again organised a 'Nahar Roko' agitation.
- June 17, 1982: Three Sikh youth on a motor cycle fired upon three Hindus at Amritsar.
- June 27, 1982: Joginder Singh Shant, Propaganda Secretary, Nirankari Mandal was fired upon and injured at Dhabuji, District Amritsar.
- July 18, 1982: When a jeep was stopped by a police party from police station Beas, District Amritsar, for checking, the occupants who included Shri Jagir Singh, cook of Gurdwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Chowk Mehta, attacked the police. The assailants were captured.

- July 19, 1982: Bhai Amrik Singh, President, AISSF¹ was arrested at Amritsar in connection with the case relating to the attempt on the life of Shri Joginder Singh Shant. Shri Bhindranwale left Gurdwara Gurdarshan Prakash along with his followers and came to Amritsar. He announced a Morcha with the courting of arrest by volunteers in front of the Deputy Commissioner's residence.
- July 21, 1982: Some Sikh youth lobbed a bomb in the main bazar of Moga, District Faridkot. A rickshaw puller was killed and five others were injured.
- July 22, 1982: A head constable of Punjab police was taken by the followers of Shri Bhindranwale towards Guru Ramdass Sarai, Amritsar and beaten up.
- July 22-23, 1982: Two country-made bombs were thrown at the house belonging to Shri Darbara Singh, then Chief Minister of Punjab, in his native village Jandiala, District Jalandhar. One of the bombs exploded causing slight damage to the building.
- August 4, 1982: The Shiromani Akali Dal launched its intensified morcha calling it "Dharam Yudh". Shri Bhindranwale called off his morcha to coincide with this.
- August 4, 1982: An Indian Airlines plane on a flight from Delhi to Srinagar via Amritsar was hijacked with 126 passengers on board and taken towards Lahore. The plane was not allowed to land there and was brought to Amritsar airport where the hijacker was arrested.
- August 20, 1982: Another Indian Airlines plane on a flight from Jodhpur to Delhi was hijacked. Since it was not permitted to land at Lahore, it landed at Amritsar airport, where in a shoot out, the hijacker was killed.

- August 20, 1982: Shri Darbara Singh, then Chief Minister, was attacked with hand grenades by two extremists at Rahon, District Jalandhar. Shri Darbara Singh escaped unhurt but 18 persons including the Education Minister and some members of the Chief Minister's escort party received injuries.
- September 11, 1982: An accident occurred at an unmanned railway crossing at Tarn Taran when a train hit a vehicle in which some Akali agitators were being taken. A number of agitators were killed.
- October 11, 1982: A violent demonstration was held by the Shiromani Akali Dal in front of Parliament House on the conclusion of a mourning procession which came from Anandpur Sahib to Gurdwara Rakabganj, New Delhi carrying the ashes of the victims of the railway accident of 11th September.
- October 26, 1982: Two hand grenades were thrown at a chowk near the Golden Temple, Amritsar during a Ramnaumi procession. One grenade burst killing a Hindu youth and a CRP constable and injuring many others.
- October 27, 1982: Resham Singh Nirankari was shot dead by three Sikhs on a motor cycle at Nangal-Khanga, District Hoshiarpur.
- October 29, 1982: A cracker exploded near Saida gate in Jalandhar after the termination of a procession taken out in connection with Guru Nanak's birthday. Nine persons including women and children were injured.
- November 12-13, 1982: Explosions occurred at a number of places; these included the police post building in Rahon,

District Jalandhar, the Canal Rest House, Athwal, Shri Hargobindpur, the house of Shri Ajaib Singh Nirankari at Chuman, at Pushok place main bazar, Moga, District Faridkot, the residence of Mohinder Pal in Sunder Nagar colony, Ludhiana, the DAV High School, Qadian, District Gurdaspur and the retiring room of the SDM's Court, Jalandhar.

- November 14, 1982: There was a blast near a CRP truck at Tarn Taran, District Amritsar but no damage was caused.
- November 14-15, 1982: The house of Dilbag Singh of Tarsikka village, District Amritsar, was damaged due to a bomb blast.
- November 22-23, 1982: Country-made bombs were lobbed at the residence of Shri Harcharan Singh Ajnala, the then Education Minister of Punjab, causing some damage.
- December 16-17, 1982: A country made bomb exploded in the compound of the residence of Shri Lakha Singh, Congress (I) MLA, at village Sultanwind, District Amritsar.
- December 24, 1982: Shri Prabhu Dayal, Secretary, Nirankari Mission, Bhatinda, was found murdered at Talwandi Sabo, Bhatinda.
- January 10, 1983: The dead body of Shri Swaran Singh Lahri Nirankari was found at Ghot Bhahan, Gurdaspur.
- January 26, 1983: Four bomb explosions occurred in Amritsar. A wooden kiosk was burnt and a partially burnt tricolour flag was thrown in front of a shop. A hand-grenade was discovered in Guru Nanak Stadium, the official venue of Republic Day celebrations in Amritsar.
- January 27, 1983: A bank robbery of Rs. 7,80,000 occurred in a branch of Sydicate Bank, Amritsar.

- January 31, 1983: Shri Mohinder Pal, elder brother of Shri Joginder Nath, MLA (Cong. I), was shot dead at Amritsar.
- February 16, 1983: An Inspector of Police was shot dead in village Kiryali, District Amritsar.
- March 8, 1983: Bomb blasts occurred in Palika Bazar and Inter-State Bus Terminal, Delhi.
- March 16, 1983: In an encounter between extremists and the police near Amritsar, one Superintendent of Police was seriously injured. The dead body of one of the extremists who died in the encounter was handed over to the police by SGPC, Amritsar. Three other extremists who were injured took shelter in Guru Nanak Niwas.
- March 21, 1983: Some Nihangs went to the market at Qadian in District Gurdaspur at about 8.30 P.M. and indulged in indiscriminate firing in the market. As a result 9 persons were injured.
- March 23, 1983: Two bombs were thrown in the compound of the house of Shri K. K. Garg, a judge of Patiala. One bomb exploded causing damage to window panes.
- March 30, 1983: Bombs were lobbed at 3 different places at Mukerian. As a result, the son of a former Finance Minister of Punjab and one other person were injured in their shops.
- April 4, 1983: During the 'rasta roko' (block the roads) agitation organised by the Akali Dal, demonstrators indulged in violence and arson and attacked the police. Two Executive Magistrates and 175 police officers and men received injuries. To control the violent mob the police had to use force including lathi charge, tear gas shells and firing. 21 persons died.

- April 6, 1983: There was a theft of weapons from Home Guard armoury, Ferozepur, a number of rifles, sten-guns and ammunition was stolen.
- April 17, 1983: A witness in a murder case of a Nirankari, was shot dead in a hospital at Jalandhar.
- April 18, 1983: Shri Amar Singh, a Nirankari, was shot at and injured in village Nagoke in District Amritsar.
- April 20, 1983: Rs. 3 lakhs were looted from a branch of the Punjab and Sind Bank in District Jalandhar.
- April 21, 1983: One person was shot dead in Sultanpur Lodi, Kapurthala.
- April 22, 1983: Shri Prem Nath, a kiryana merchant and a Municipal Commissioner, was shot dead in a shop on Mandi Road, Sultanpur Lodi, District Kapurthala.
- April 25, 1983: Shri A. S. Atwal, DIG of police, Jalandhar was shot dead outside the main entrance of Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. An 11-year-old boy was also shot dead and another person was injured.
- April 29, 1983: Rs. 22,000 and a gun were looted from a branch of the Punjab National Bank at Chetanpura, District Amritsar.
- May 4, 1983: A dead body was found near the Golden Temple.
- May 21, 1983: Shri Kartar Singh, reportedly a Nirankari, was shot dead at Bullowal in District Hoshiarpur.
- May 23, 1983: One dead body was discovered from a gutter behind Guru Nanak Niwas.
- May 28, 1983: A teacher in village Patan in District Gurdaspur was shot dead.

- May 30, 1983: An attempt was made to loot the State Bank of Patiala at Sultanpur Lodhi, District Kapurthala. An Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police was killed, one constable and two gunmen were injured.
- June 6, 1983: One Nirankari was killed at village Muchhal in District Amritsar.
- June 10, 1983: Rs. 27,000 were looted from Punjab National Bank, Bahrapur, District Gurdaspur.
- June 11, 1983: A dead body was found from a sewer in Guru Nanak Niwas.
- June 15, 1983: About Rs. 98,000 were looted from the New Bank of India, Langroa, District Jalandhar.
- June 15, 1983: Rs. 70,000 were looted from the Cooperative Bank, Urapur, District Jalandhar.
- June 16, 1983: A bomb was thrown at the Nirankari Bhawan at Faridkot.
- June 17, 1983: The Akali Dal organised 'rail roko' (stop trains) programme. Keeping in view the safety and security of passengers and railway property, rail traffic in Punjab was suspended. State Roadways buses were also not run. Agitators indulged in acts of destruction including the cutting of signals and telephone/telegraph wires, removal of fish plates obstruction of railway tracks by placing wooden logs and flooding of railway track by cutting canal banks.
- June 18, 1983: Shri Rattan Chand Sharda, Police Inspector, was shot dead at Phagwara, District Kapurthala.
- June 20, 1983: A Nirankari was shot at and injured in village Nagoke, District Amritsar.
- June 24, 1983: A parcel bomb exploded in the office of 'Daily Pratap' at Jalandhar, killing 2 employees and injuring one more.

- June 25, 1983: A Nirankari was attacked and injured at Amritsar.
- June 25, 1983: A pujari of a temple at Sultanpur Lodi in District Kapurthala was killed with a sharp edged weapon. A servant of the temple was also injured.
- June 27, 1983: A bomb exploded in Shakti Nagar, Jalandhar, resulting in the death of two persons. Ammunition was recovered by the police from this place.
- June 28, 1983: A Nirankari was killed at Amritsar.
- June 28/29, 1983: An attempt was made to remove fish plates from the railway track near Bhatinda. Railway traffic was disrupted.
- July 1, 1983: Two Nirankaris were killed at Amritsar.
- July 2, 1983: Nihangs attacked a police post at Baba Bakala. The police opened fire. The Nihangs took away a police rifle. The police went to their Dera. In the exchange of fire one person died and 2 were injured. The police recovered a large quantity of arms and ammunitions from the Dera.
- July 2, 1983: Rs. 30,000 were looted from the Punjab National Bank, Buchokhurd, District Bhatinda.
- July 7, 1983: About Rs. 44,000 were looted from the New Bank of India, Katnikalan, District Ludhiana.
- July 13, 1983: A Head Constable and 3 Constables were killed at village Fattudhinga, Kapurthala. The assailants took away 3 rifles and 100 cartridges belonging to the police.
- July 15, 1983: A Nirankari was shot at and injured in village Dharar, Tarn Taran, District Amritsar.
- July 28, 1983: One person was killed in a bomb explosion at Amritsar.

- August 2, 1983: A Nirankari was shot at and seriously injured in village Chanupur Kale in District Amritsar. He died later.
- August 2, 1983: Rs. 1 lakh were looted from the New Bank of India, Khurda, District Amritsar.
- August 3, 1983: One Nirankari was killed in Amritsar.
- August 4, 1983: Shri Pritam Singh, Manager, Sindhi Hotel, Amritsar, was murdered.
- August 5, 1983: Rs. 1,10,706 were looted from the Punjab and Sind Bank, Katli Surat Malhi, District Gurdaspur.
- August 8, 1983: A fertilizer agent was shot at and seriously injured at Jandiala Guru in Amritsar.
- August 8, 1983: A bomb was thrown at the shop of a Nirankari at Muktsar.
- August 15, 1983: A Sub-Inspector of Police was shot dead at Muktsar. One Constable was injured.
- August 16, 1983: Rs. 22,000 were looted from the State Bank of India, Jando ke Sirhali, District Amritsar.
- August 16, 1983: A Nirankari was killed at Amritsar.
- August 16, 1983: A Nirankari was attacked and injured in village Kukranwala in District Amritsar.
- August 29, 1983: "Kam Roko" (stop work) agitation was organised in all districts of Punjab. Some violent incidents occurred.
- September 3, 1983: A dead body was recovered from the gutter behind Sarai Guru Ram Dass, Amritsar.
- September 5, 1983: Rs. 80,000 were looted from the Bank of India, Chabba, District Amritsar.
- September 10, 1983: A Nirankari was shot dead at Amritsar.

- September 21, 1983: Shri D. R. Bhatti, SSP, Ludhiana was shot at when he was entering his office at Ludhiana. His gunman was killed on the spot. Shri Bhatti was injured. One of the assailants was also killed.
- September 21, 1983: About Rs. 73,000 were looted from the New Bank of India, Putlighar, Amritsar. On the same day over Rs. 27,000 were looted from the Punjab & Sind Bank, New Bus Stand, Amritsar.
- September 22, 1983: A person reported to be Nirankari was shot at while he was going to village Muchhal in District Amritsar.
- September 23, 1983: Three policemen were injured near the Golden Temple, Amritsar.
- September 26, 1983: One Head Constable of Police was shot dead in Putlighar area of Amritsar.
- September 28, 1983: Rs. 1,30,000 were looted from the United Commercial Bank, Lalton, District Ludhiana.
- September 28, 1983: Five persons who had gone for a morning walk at Jagraon, District Ludhiana, were shot at and injured.
- September 29, 1983: Rs. 1,13,000/- were looted from Punjab State Electricity Board office, Guru Har Sahai, District Ferozepur.
- September 29, 1983: A Sub-Inspector of Police was shot dead at Amritsar.
- September 29, 1983: One person who was going to Dera Shami Shah in village Sham Chaurasi, District Hoshiarpur, was shot dead.
- September 30, 1983: Dr. Sudarshan was shot dead in his clinic at Railway Road, Patti, District Amritsar. Two patients including a woman also sustained injuries.

- October 1, 1983: Rs. 76,000 were looted from the New Bank of India, Bhatnoora Labana, District Jalandhar. In the armed encounter that followed, 4 robbers were killed. One sten-gun, one pistol, one revolver, one rifle, 3 grenades and a large quantity of ammunition were recovered. Currency notes looted from the Bank were also recovered.
- October 4, 1983: Shri Madan Mohan Dhawan, who was sitting in his shop along with his son and a relative at Jandiala, was shot at. Shri Madan Mohan was seriously injured and subsequently died.
- October 5, 1983: Shri S. K. Mittal, a bank employee, was shot at and seriously injured at Jalandhar.
- October 5, 1983: Shri Raj Pal, a cloth merchant, was shot at when he was closing his shop in front of Gurdwara Harmandir Sahib, Tarn Taran. He was injured.
- October 5, 1983: A hand grenade was thrown at passengers alighting from a Punjab Roadways bus near Tarn Taran. One person was seriously injured.
- October 5, 1983: A private bus left Amritsar for Delhi at about 10 P.M. At Dhilwan, the bus was hijacked towards Nurpur Labana. The passengers were segregated on communal lines. Six Hindu passengers were shot dead and one Hindu was seriously injured.
- October 6, 1983: A Sub-Inspector, Shri Pyara Singh of Punjab Police, and Shri Satpal Suri, Excise & Custom Inspector, were shot dead in Howrah Express, near Manawala railway station. Some passengers were also injured.
- October 6, 1983: Rs. 3,000 were snatched from a merchant in Amritsar at gunpoint.

- October 6, 1983: President's rule was promulgated in Punjab.
- October 7, 1983: Punjab was declared a disturbed area under the Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance, 1983.
- October 8, 1983: An Assistant Superintendent (Jails) who had gone to the Golden Temple to pay homage, was caught by AISSF activists and beaten up. He was taken to Guru Nanak Niwas and was later released.
- October 8, 1983: Two persons shot dead Shri Kartar Singh, resident of village Gogorian in District Jalandhar.
- October 8, 1983: Shri Jagjit Kumar of Amritsar was shot at and injured.
- October 8, 1983: A shop of a Hindu was looted at gun point at Jagraon.
- October 9, 1983: Some persons resorted to firing when Jagrata was in progress at Kapurthala.
- October 10, 1983: Rs. 8,000 were looted from the Punjab State Electricity Board office at Badali Ala Singh, District Patiala. The SDO was injured.
- October 10, 1983: Rs. 75,000 were snatched from Shri Brij Lal at Nabha.
- October 10, 1983: A group of Hindu shopkeepers in the main bazar at Chola Sahib town, District Amritsar, were shot at. Five persons were injured.
- October 12, 1983: A rickshaw puller was fired at and injured at Amritsar.
- October 12, 1983: Rs. 6,000 were looted from the Punjab National Bank, Kalha, District Amritsar.
- October 14, 1983: In an encounter with the police, 4 extremists were killed and one was apprehended.

- October 15, 1983: One Shri Kishan Chand was shot at and seriously injured when he was returning home from village Tarsikka, District Amritsar.
- October 15, 1983: A hand-grenade was thrown during Ramlila performance at Chandigarh, resulting in the death of 3 persons and injuries to 22 others.
- October 16, 1983: Shri Harbans Lal and Shri Jugal Kishore were injured in bomb explosion in Mata Rani Mandir at Ludhiana.
- October 16, 1983: A bus conductor and the passengers were robbed at Tarn Taran.
- October 16, 1983: Some persons entered the Dera of one Krishnand Mahant in District Sangrur. After threatening the wife of the Mahant, they took away one gun, 20 cartridges and licence.
- October 17, 1983: The Cashier of a petrol pump was robbed at on gun point in Amritsar.
- October 17, 1983: A Sub-Inspector of Police was killed and one Head Constable was injured when they were travelling in a bus in District Amritsar.
- October 18, 1983: Shri Mohinder Singh of Ex-servicemen Employees Association was shot dead at Amritsar.
- October 20, 1983: A jeweller's shop was looted at Amritsar. One robber was killed.
- October 21, 1983: Sealdah-Jammu Tawi Express derailed near Gobindgarh Railway Station as a result of suspected sabotage, 19 persons were killed and 129 injured.
- October 24, 1983: Rs. 76,000 were looted from the Punjab and Sind Bank branch in District Sangrur.

- October 25, 1983: The gunman of the Punjab & Sind Bank, Pakhowal, District Ludhiana, was shot dead and Rs. 35,000 looted from the bank.
- October 29, 1983: An attempt was made on the life of the former District Superintendent of Police, Shri Bachan Singh, when he was sitting in a shop owned by his son. A salesman and a constable were killed on the spot. A Head Constable who was injured, died later on.
- October 29, 1983: A Head Constable was seriously injured at Amritsar. He died later.
- October 31, 1983: Paramjit Kaur, niece of Mahant Surinder Singh, was shot at and injured at Amritsar.
- November 1, 1983: A car was snatched from a person in District Faridkot. Later on the miscreants looted a petrol pump in village Bilaspur (Faridkot).
- November 1, 1983: Rs. 80,000 were looted from the Traders Bank, Mitiana, Phagwara.
- November 2, 1983: About Rs. 36,000 were looted from State Bank of Patiala, Shambhu Kalan.
- November 5, 1983: A service revolver was snatched away from an Assistant Sub Inspector of Police at Tarn Taran.
- November 9, 1983: Rs. 3.5 lakhs were looted from the State Bank of India Branch, Chandigarh.
- November 9, 1983: Rs. 40,000 were looted from the Punjab & Sind Bank at Jagdev Kalan, Amritsar.
- November 11, 1983: Shri Surjan Singh, prominent Congress (I) worker, was murdered in village Nagoke, District Amritsar.
- November 18, 1983: A Punjab Roadways bus on way to Moga was hijacked near Rasoolpur village. Four Hindu passengers were killed.

- November 21, 1983: Two bombs were thrown on the premises of Hanuman Mandir, Yamunanagar.
- November 21, 1983: Idols of Shri Balram, Krishna and Subadhra and one idol of Lord Shiva and pictures of other religious deities were damaged.
- November 23, 1983: Rs. 1 lakh was looted from the Laxmi Commercial Bank, Goraya, District Jalandhar.
- November 23, 1983: Shri Ram Prakash Singh, a goldsmith of Muktsar, was shot dead and his son was injured.
- November 23, 1983: Shri Saranjit Singh was shot at and injured at Amritsar.
- November 26, 1983: Ornaments worth Rs. 15 lakhs were looted from a jewellery shop in Karol Bagh, New Delhi.
- November 26/27, 1983: An attempt was made to set fire to the Gurdwara of Churu (Rajasthan). Some damage was caused to the gate.
- November 28, 1983: Shri K. K. Dhir, Commissioner, Municipal Corporation, Amritsar, was shot at and injured when he was going to his residence.
- November 29, 1983: The shops of Nanak Chand, Sita Ram and R. C. Traders were looted of Rs. 40,000 at pistol point. at Amritsar.
- December 1, 1983: Some activists of AISSF boarded a train at Sriganganagar on way to Churu and raised slogans. A crowd of Hindus gathered there and raised counter slogans. There was a scuffle between Hindus and Sikhs in which persons of both sides were injured. The AISSF activists entered a railway compartment and bolted it from inside. The police arrested 15 of them and restored peace.

- December 3, 1983: Idols of Shri Balram, Krishna and Subadhra were broken and the clothes of the idols were burnt at one of the temples at Ramtirath Holi Complex, Amritsar.
- December 5, 1983: A pan-biri seller of Chattiwind Gate of Amritsar was killed.
- December 7, 1983: Rs. 1.50 lakhs were looted from the Punjab and Sind Bank, Guru Nanak Dev University at Amritsar.
- December 9, 1983: Shri Brij Lal Gupta of a flour mill at Patiala was killed.
- December 16, 1983: The owner of a petrol pump, Shri Surindar Kumar, was shot dead at Moga.
- December 18, 1983: Shri Bichhu Ram, SHO, Police Station Guru Har Sahai, District Ferozepur, was shot dead in a grain market.
- December 19, 1983: One Inspector of Civil Supplies Department was deprived of his scooter and some cash at gun-point when he was on his way to Amritsar.
- December 20, 1983: Dr. Balbir Singh, a Nirankari, was shot dead at his shop in village Bassian in District Ludhiana.
- December 20, 1983: At Amritsar, Shri Sukhdev Singh of Babbar Khalsa, owned full responsibility for the killing of 35 Nirankaris since 1981.
- December 25, 1983: Shri Kuldeep Singh, owner of Narindar Cinema at Jalandhar, was shot dead.
- December 25, 1983: Shri Shabaz Singh, Sarpanch of village Sensowal, District Ludhiana was murdered and 8 others of his family were injured.
- January 5, 1984: Shri Darshan Singh and his wife were fired at and injured at Nawan Shahr, District Jalandhar.

- January 7, 1984: About Rs. 46,000 were stolen from the Co-operative Bank, Khera Gaku, Patiala.
- January 9, 1984: The dead body of a Nihang was found lying on the third floor of Guru Ram Dass Sarai at Amritsar.
- January 11, 1984: Shri Kedar Nath was shot dead at Amritsar.
- January 15, 1984: Shri Ajaib Singh, a Nirankari of village Chumman, District Gurdaspur, was shot dead.
- January 18, 1984: There was an explosion in Chitra Cinema, Amritsar, as a result of which 12 persons were injured.
- January 24, 1984: About Rs. 1.27 lakhs were looted from the New Bank of India, Suta Singh Road, Amritsar.
- January 24, 1984: Shri Sadhu Ram, Municipal Commissioner and owner of Chadha Rice Mills, Amritsar was deprived of Rs. 10,000 and a jeep at pistol point.
- January 26, 1984: The passengers and conductor of a bus were looted at pistol point near village Bangla Rai, District Amritsar. The bus was set on fire.
- January 26, 1984: A bus was set on fire near village Aella in District Amritsar.
- January 27, 1984: Three persons were killed and 15 or 16 were injured due to a bomb explosion in the Sutlej Cinema, Nawan Shahr, District Jalandhar.
- January 28, 1984: A hand-grenade was thrown at a post of the Border Security Force (BSF) at Chattiwind Gate of Amritsar. Two civilians were injured.
- January 28, 1984: Railway Station Handaya in District Sangrur was set on fire, resulting in damage to records and to the building.

- January 28, 1984: Railway Station Tapa in District Sangrur was set on fire causing damage to the records and building and Rs. 452.70 were also looted.
- January 28, 1984: Railway Station Shekha in District Sangrur was set on fire. Records were burnt.
- January 28, 1984: Telegraph wires were cut at Railway Station Gurney in District Sangrur.
- January 31, 1984: Shri Gurbhajan Singh was killed in an encounter with Nihangs at Malerkotla. A Nihang also died.
- January 31, 1984: Shri Jaswant Singh, Nirankari, was killed near the bus stand at Barretta (Bhatinda).
- February 1, 1984: "Mukuts" of silver weighing 1 kg. were removed from Madan Mohan Temple, Tarn Taran.
- February 3, 1984: Shri Sanjiv Gaur, Correspondent of the Indian Express, was stabbed in the thigh near the office of S.G.P.C. in Golden Temple Complex.
- February 3, 1984: A hand-grenade exploded in the office of the T.V. Centre at Amritsar, causing damage to window panes.
- February 5, 1984: Shri Kesar Singh, son of Shri Jaswant Singh, Nirankari, was shot at and injured at Jalandhar.
- February 6, 1984: An abortive attempt was made to rob the State Bank of India branch at village Samundran, PS Garhshankar, District Hoshiarpur. Two robbers, one bank employee, one constable and one head constable were killed.
- February 8, 1984: An attempt was made on the life of Shri Kewal Krishan of Harchowal, Gurdaspur. One of the miscreants was killed by the security guard.

- February 8, 1984: Three persons were shot dead in village Japowal in District Gurdaspur.
- February 8, 1984: A bomb was thrown at a marriage party consisting of relatives and friends of Shri Narain Dass at Amritsar, causing injuries to 4 persons.
- February 8, 1984: Shri Amarjit Singh, who was going to his house on a scooter in Amritsar, was attacked and injured.
- February 8, 1984: "Punjab Bandh" was observed by the Shiromani Akali Dal.
- February 11, 1984: The dead body of a person was found burning in Amritsar. The fire was put out and dead body was taken into custody.
- February 12, 1984: One person was killed in a rickshaw at Ludhiana.
- February 13, 1984: Shri Hira Singh was shot dead and one other person was injured at Amritsar.
- February 14, 1984: Shri Yash Pal Billa of Delhi Syasi Jung Newspaper, Bazar Hansli, Amritsar, was shot at and injured. His gun-man, Constable Mohinder Singh, was shot dead.
- February 14, 1984: The Hindu Suraksha Samiti and other organised a Punjab Bandh. Violent incidents took place. 11 persons died (5 in police firing and 6 by others).
- February 16, 1984: A party of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) was attacked with a hand-grenade when it was returning from duty at Harchowal in District Gurdaspur. A constable was killed and another was injured.

- February 17, 1984: A Punjab Roadways bus was burnt near village Bhangala, District Amritsar.
- February 17, 1984: In the exchange of fire between the extremists from the Golden Temple and CRPF personnel, 2 civilians were killed and another was injured. A CRPF jawan was also injured.
- February 15—20, 1984: As a reaction to the incidents in Punjab, some violent incidents took place in Haryana on February 15, 18, 19 and 20, 1984, at Karnal, Kaithal, Panipat and Jind respectively. The police used tear gas, lathi charge and firing to control the violence. In the incidents at Panipat, Kaithal and Jind, 11 persons lost their lives.
- February 21, 1984: Three temples were damaged at Bhatinda.
- February 21, 1984: Two hand-grenades were thrown at a CRPF party at Amritsar.
- February 21, 1984: In a shooting incident at the main bazar of Kahnuwan, District Gurdaspur, 6 Hindus were killed on the spot and another 8 were injured.
- February 21, 1984: In a shooting incident at Bhaini Mian Khan, District Gurdaspur, 2 persons died and 2 were injured.
- February 21, 1984: Two persons fired at Shri Surindar Pal and Shri Krishan Kumar near Mandirwale Gate, Amritsar.
- February 21, 1984: A bomb exploded in the house of Shri Shiv Ram at Patiala, resulting in damage to doors and windows.
- February 21, 1984: Shri Dalbir Bahadur, Gorkha chowkidar, railway godown, Malout District Bhatinda, was murdered.

- February 22, 1984: Shri Mohan Lal and Shri Kundan Lal were shot dead and Shri Surinder Kumar was seriously injured in a shooting incident at Sham Chaurasi in District Hoshiarpur.
- February 22, 1984: One person was shot dead at Shri Hargobindpur, District Gurdaspur.
- February 22, 1984: In a shooting incident, 4 persons were killed and 2 were injured in a bazar in Lopoke, District Amritsar.
- February 22, 1984: Shri Ashok Kumar was killed and Shri Krishan Lal was injured at Amritsar.
- February 22, 1984: Three persons were killed (Shri Gulzari Lal, Shri Manohar Lal and Shri Subhash Kumar) and 4 others were injured in a shooting incident in a bazar in P.S. Valtoha, Amritsar. The dead body of Shri Kailash Chand, medical practitioner at Khem Karan, with bullet injuries was also found from the fields in the jurisdiction of police station Bhikiwind, District Amritsar.
- February 22, 1984: Four persons were injured in firing by a Nihang near Railway Station Jaito, District Faridkot.
- February 23, 1984: Shri Rameshwar Rishi Dev, his son and a child aged 18 months were murdered at village Khandoli, P.S. Rajpura. One woman was seriously injured.
- February 23, 1984: Four persons were killed and 6 others including one woman and a child were injured in shooting incident in the grain market, Guru Harsahai in District Ferozepur.
- February 23, 1984: Shri Banarsi Das was shot dead at Batala.

- February 23, 1984: As a result of a bomb explosion near Gandhi Chowk, Batala, 10 persons were injured; one of them died later.
- February 23, 1984: Shri Rajinder Lal and Shri Gyan Chand were shot at and injured near village Rupawali in District Amritsar. One of them died later.
- February 23, 1984: Shri Madho was killed and Shri Surender was injured in firing by some persons near village Khilchian in District Amritsar.
- February 23, 1984: Shri Brij Lal, shopkeeper of village Tarsika in District Amritsar, was injured.
- February 23, 1984: Shri Mool Chand was deprived of ornaments worth Rs. 18,500 by armed persons at Mansa in District Bhatinda.
- February 24, 1984: Shri Dharam Pal was shot dead and S/Shri Sardari Lal and Kanwaljeet were seriously injured at Chheharta, District Amritsar.
- February 24, 1984: Two employees of the Punjab State Electricity city Board returning home from sub-station Udoke, District Amritsar, were attacked and injured.
- February 24, 1984: Shri Om Prakash, shopkeeper, was shot at and killed in village Mand in District Gurdaspur.
- February 24, 1984: Shri Shamsheer Mashih was murdered in District Ferozepur.
- February 25, 1984: Three dead bodies of Hindus with bullet injuries were found lying in the fields in village Bhilowal in District Amritsar.
- February 25, 1984: Shri Pawan Kumar, son of Shri Ved Prakash pujari of a temple in village Sohian in District Amritsar, was murdered in the temple.

- February 25, 1984: Shri Yash Pal Sharma, a lineman of the Punjab State Electricity Board, was shot dead and Shri Vijay Kumar, peon of the Board belonging to Makhu, District Ferozepur, was seriously injured.
- February 25, 1984: Shri Gyan Chand, son of Shri Shaunki Ram, of village Hamad, District Ferozepur, was killed in his house.
- February 25, 1984: Shri Ram Chand was shot at and injured at Amritsar.
- February 26, 1984: Three persons including a child were shot dead in their house in village Bhowewal in District Amritsar. One person was seriously injured.
- February 26, 1984: Shri Bachan Singh was shot dead in Dina Nagar, District Gurdaspur.
- February 26, 1984: Two children were injured in bomb explosion in the house of Shri Karnail Singh at Jalandhar.
- February 27, 1984: As a result of a bomb explosion in the house of Shri Sadhu Ram, Pradhan, Hindu Suraksha Samiti Rayya, District Amritsar, two persons, including a woman were injured.
- February 27, 1984: Shri Gyan Chand, son of Shri Charanji Lal, was shot dead at Faridkot.
- February 27, 1984: An idol of Shri Hanumanji in Mijiwan temple in Purana Bazar, Ludhiana, was found broken.
- February 27, 1984: The Akali Dal organised the tearing off and burning of pages of Article 25 of the Constitution in Delhi and Chandigarh.
- February 28, 1984: A gold 'Kalash' weighing 25 tolas and two clocks worth Rs. 2,000 were stolen from the Jain Samad in Jagraon, District Ludhiana.

- February 29, 1984: A hand-grenade was lobbed at crowd near Shivala temple, Amritsar, on the occasion of the Shivratri festival. Three persons died and 32 were injured.
- March 1, 1984: Rs. 4.28 lakhs were looted from the Oriental Bank at Railway Road, Tarn Taran.
- March 1, 1984: ASI Jagdish Prasad was shot dead at Moga and his revolver was taken away by the assailants.
- March 1, 1984: In an encounter between the police and Nihangs near Patti, 4 Nihangs were killed. One pistol, one gun and one rifle were recovered.
- March 2, 1984: Passengers travelling in train were robbed between railway stations Nakodar and Sidhwan.
- March 2, 1984: A car was taken away at gun point in Moga city.
- March 2, 1984: In an encounter in District Faridkot between extremists and police, one extremist was killed. One sten-gun and two revolvers were recovered.
- March 3, 1984: Shri Madan Lal was shot dead at Maur in District Bhatinda.
- March 3, 1984: Shri Dev Raj was murdered near Rama in District Bhatinda.
- March 5, 1984: Dead bodies of two persons were recovered near village Bakwala in District Ferozepur.
- March 7, 1984: ASI Ajmer Singh and constable Basant Singh while on patrol duty near village Chittawala Drain, Nabha, were shot at and injured. Shri Basant Singh died later.
- March 8, 1984: A dead body with bullet injuries was found near a village Kaka Kandiala, Amritsar.

- March 8, 1984: Three persons while going on scooter to Cheetanwala, P. S. Dhuri, Sangrur, were way-laid and shot at and injured. They were deprived of their scooter.
- March 8, 1984: In a bomb explosion at Ludhiana, Shri Ram Bahadur was killed and Ali Mohammad was injured.
- March 9, 1984: Shri Ved Pal, Deputy Speaker, Haryana, was going from Delhi to Karnal along with Smt. Shanti Devi, MLA, in a car. Some armed persons on a motor-cycle fired on the car with a sten-gun between Madhuban and Karnal. The driver of the car was killed and a gunman was seriously injured. Shri Ved Pal escaped unhurt.
- March 10, 1984: Shri Jarnail Singh was shot dead at a petrol pump at Ucha Bhapala, Khanna.
- March 11, 1984: There was an explosion on the railway line between Kalanwali (Haryana) and Ramamandi, District Bhatinda. One metre of railway line was damaged.
- March 12, 1984: The Granthi of Gurdwara Ravidas, Phagwara, was assaulted by miscreants who also removed 'rumals' of Guru Granth Sahib.
- March 13, 1984: An attempt was made on the life of Shri Darbara Singh, former Chief Minister, Punjab, who had gone to Gurdwara Bhabaur Sahib, Nangal, in connection with the cremation ceremony of Sant Mohindar Singh. Shri Darbara Singh escaped unhurt. Six persons including a woman and the assailant, Mohinder Singh, were injured in an exchange of fire in this incident.
- March 14, 1984: A walkie-talkie set was snatched away from an Air Force employee near Canal Bridge, Kukanwala, on the Amritsar-Ajnala Road. The culprits were reported to be armed with sten-guns and revolvers.

- March 15, 1984: Supporters of 4 extremists brought to a court at Amritsar tried to get them freed from police custody. They fired a shot. The police fired back in self-defence. As a result of firing one person was killed.
- March 15, 1984: Pujari Mohinder Singh of Dera Paramhans in village Dorangla in District Gurdaspur was injured.
- March 15, 1984: In an explosion outside a booking window of Kishor Cinema, Panipat, a Hindu was injured.
- March 16, 1984: Some Nihangs robbed passengers in a train on the Ludhiana-Ferozepur section and opened fire at the running train. As a result, 3 passengers died and two were injured.
- March 17, 1984: At the Akali Conference held at Anandpur Sahib, Ropar, Sikh masses were exhorted to observe "Panth Azad Week" from April 2 to 7, 1984, by burning Article 25 of the Constitution in large numbers. The programme was later withdrawn.
- March 18, 1984: A bomb was hurled at a police camp in Anandpur Sahib. As a result, one Police Inspector and three constables including a woman constable, were injured.
- March 19, 1984: Rs. 53,872 were looted from the Punjab and Sind Bank at Chowk Prag Dass, Amritsar.
- March 19, 1984: An attempt was made to loot the Punjab National Bank, Paldi, in District Hoshiarpur. The gunman of the bank shot dead one of the robbers. One pistol with cartridges and one bomb were recovered.
- March 21, 1984: Shri Ajit Singh, Granthi of Gurdwara Malanwala, District Ferozepur, was shot dead in the gurdwara.

- March 23, 1984: Shri Surinder Kumar, a Sub-Inspector of Police, was shot at near village Dayalpur, District Amritsar. While he escaped, his motorcycle was damaged.
- March 23, 1984: Shri Kartar Chand, Sarpanch, was shot dead near Fathudhinga, District Kapurthala.
- March 23, 1984: A piece of rail track between Mansa and Sadasinghwala railway stations was blown up with a bomb explosion.
- March 25, 1984: Dr. Kamal was shot at in his medicine shop and injured at Dasua in District Hoshiarpur.
- March 26, 1984: Three buses parked at the bus stand, Moga, were set on fire.
- March 26, 1984: The idol of Shiva was taken away from Shivalaya at village Sidhupur Kalan in District Ropar.
- March 26, 1984: Shri Muni Lal, a shopkeeper in Green Avenue, Amritsar, was injured with a knife.
- March 27, 1984: The railway track was found cut near village Daulatpur in District Sangrur.
- March 27, 1984: Shri Ved Prakash, Dr. Joginder Singh and Shri Roop Lal, while returning in a jeep after attending a Nirankari Samagam at Dhanaula, District Sangrur, were attacked. As a result Shri Ved Prakash was killed and two others were injured.
- March 27, 1984: ASI Gurjeet Singh of Police Post Kairon was assaulted and injured near village Bhalla in District Amritsar.
- March 28, 1984: Shri Chaman Lal was shot at and injured while he was going on a scooter to Badhni Kalan, District Faridkot.

- March 28, 1984: Shri Harbans Singh Manchanda, President Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, was shot dead in New Delhi.
- March 29, 1984: A bomb was thrown at a camp of the CRPF at Dharamkot. As a result, one constable was killed and one was injured.
- March 29, 1984: One taxi was snatched away at pistol point near village Jalalabad, District Amritsar.
- March 29, 1984: A tree was found lying on railway track at a Ferozepur-Jalandhar line. This was detected by a railway patrolling party and an accident averted.
- March 31, 1984: S/Shri Suraj Prakash and Hukam Chand, Nirankaris, were shot at Moga, while coming home after closing their shops. They also fired in self-defence. None was injured.
- March 31, 1984: A car belonging to Shri Gurpreet Singh was stolen from outside the Golden Temple complex, Amritsar.
- March 31, 1984: Some armed persons came to the examination branch of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, and confined the employees in a bathroom. They opened the lock of the strong room and set the place on fire.
- April 1, 1984: Shri R. N. Sharma, Principal, RSD College, Ferozepur, was shot dead.
- April 1, 1984: Two hand-grenades were thrown at the Nirankari Bhavan in village Chemba on Rayya Link Road where Satsang was in progress. As a result of the explosion, two women and a girl were killed and 21 persons were injured.
- April 1, 1984: Shri Bharat Bhushan, son of Shri Sardari Lal Bhatti, Balmiki, was shot dead at Qadian, District Gurdaspur.

- April 2, 1984: Shri Harbans Lal Khanna, ex-MLA and District President, BJP, Amritsar, along with his gunman was shot dead in his shop at Amritsar. A customer in the shop also received the bullet injuries.
- April 2, 1984: One Police Inspector and his body guard had to take shelter in the Raj Guest House, Amritsar, when they were chased by an unruly mob. The mob burnt a scooter, Rs. 3000 in cash, a bag of clothes, a sign board and furniture of the guest house.
- April 2, 1984: Records of the S.D. College for Women, Moga, were burnt.
- April 2, 1984: University question papers and answer books were taken away by some miscreants from Guru Nanak College, Rode, Faridkot.
- April 2, 1984: A police jeep was set on fire near the shop of the late Shri Harbans Lal Khanna at Amritsar.
- April 3, 1984: Shri Tilak Raj, Examination Superintendent of Government High School, Wadala Kalan, Amritsar, was shot at and injured. The assailants took away a bundle of question papers.
- April 3, 1984: In violent incidents which occurred when the funeral procession of late Shri Harbans Lal Khanna was taken out, 8 persons were killed and 9 injured.
- April 3, 1984: Shri Jawahar Lal, munshi of a brick kiln near village Mianwind, Amritsar, was shot at and injured.
- April 3, 1984: Dr. V. N. Tiwari, M.P., was shot at and seriously injured in his house at Chandigarh. He succumbed to his injuries.
- April 3, 1984: Shri Dhan Singh, a sanitary inspector, was killed at Chandigarh.

- April 4, 1984: Shri Anant Ram was shot at and injured at Amritsar when he was returning after closing his shop.
- April 4, 1984: The car of Shri Angrej Singh, Manager, Co-operative Bank, Ferozepur, was taken away.
- April 4, 1984: In a bomb explosion near Majestic Chowk, Moga, 5 persons were injured.
- April 5, 1984: Shri Shankar Das was killed at Bilga, District Jalandhar.
- April 6, 1984: Shri Zalam Singh was shot at and injured at Patiala.
- April 6, 1984: The office room, records, furniture, etc. of the D.A.V. College, Bhatinda, were burnt.
- April 6, 1984: The record room of T.P.D. Malwa College, Phul, District Bhatinda, was set on fire.
- April 8, 1984: In a bomb explosion at the gate of the Mysor Khanna Temple in Kot Fatta in District Bhatinda, 3 persons including one woman, were injured.
- April 8, 1984: Question papers and answer sheets of students in the Government High School, Mehta Nangal, were set on fire.
- April 8, 1984: The windows and library rooms of Government College, Ropar, were set on fire.
- April 8, 1984: In bomb explosions in the courtyard of Santoshi Mata Temple at Bhatinda, one Chander Bhushan, Home guards volunteer, was killed and Bhagat Bahadur, chowkidar, was injured.
- April 8, 1984: Bundles of question papers were robbed from the examination hall of Khalsa High School, Muktsar.

- April 8, 1984: Papers and other documents were snatched from the Superintendent Examination at Bhunerheri Centre, Patiala.
- April 9, 1984: Baba Gurdev Das was shot at and injured at Qadian.
- April 9, 1984: Baba Swaran Singh of Dera Anandpur Chur Chak, District Ferozepur, was murdered.
- April 10, 1984: Shri Inder Singh, a retired army employee, was murdered at Tarn Taran.
- April 10, 1984: A bomb was thrown in the house of Shri Durga Das at Tanda, as a result of which the house was damaged.
- April 10, 1984: One kiriyana shop and a sugar depot belonging to Shri Niranjana Das of the Punjab Beopar Mandal and a Hindu Suraksha Samiti leader at Kharar was set on fire.
- April 10, 1984: A hand-grenade was recovered from the Temple of Chawinda Devi in District Amritsar.
- April 10, 1984: A bomb explosion occurred on the roof of the house of Shri Ramesh Kumar at Ferozepur.
- April 10, 1984: Shri Surjit Singh was shot at and injured at Ferozepur.
- April 10, 1984: Shri Raghubir Chand and Shri Joginder Pal were shot dead near Rahon, District Jalandhar.
- April 10, 1984: Passengers on a Ganganagar bound train were robbed between Railway Stations Pakki and Kabbarwala in District Faridkot.
- April 11, 1984: Shri Darshan Kumar was shot dead near village Ballar, District Amritsar.

- April 11, 1984: The office of Guru Tegh Bahadur Government College, Sathiala, District Amritsar, was set on fire.
- April 11, 1984: Wooden 'khokas' belonging to Babu Ram and Hansraj were set on fire at Jalandhar.
- April 11, 1984: Shri Gurcharan Singh was assaulted and injured by armed persons in District Bhatinda.
- April 11, 1984: Shri Sukh Raj Singh, a worker of the CPML, was shot at and injured at his house in District Gurdaspur. He died later.
- April 11, 1984: A portion of the railway track near the Bhat-sar railway station, Faridkot district, was found removed.
- April 11, 1984: Shri Arun Narang was shot at and injured at Patiala. He later died.
- April 11, 1984: The booking office of Hussainipura railway station, was set on fire.
- April 12, 1984: Shri Bhola was shot at and injured at Ferozepur.
- April 12, 1984: Some passengers were robbed in running train between Kairon and Jandoke railway stations near Amritsar.
- April 13, 1984: Shri Niranjana Singh was shot at and injured at Bhatinda.
- April 14, 1984: Shri Surinder Singh Sodhi was shot dead when he was sitting in the Sindhi Hotel opposite Guru Ram Dass Sarai, Amritsar. Shri Kuldeep Singh received bullet injuries.
- April 14, 1984: As a result of firing on a bus near Khemkaran two women and 3 men were injured.
- April 14, 1984: Shri Gurdial Singh, a Nirankari, was shot dead when he was going on his scooter to the railway station in District Ferozepur.

- April 14, 1984: During the night of April 14-15, 1984, attempts were made to burn railway property at 38 railway stations.
- April 15, 1984: On the night of April 15-16, railway property at Chutoli railway station was damaged.
- April 15, 1984: Window panes of the Samana post office in District Patiala, were broken and the post office was set on fire. Some records were burnt.
- April 15, 1984: The dead body of a person was burnt and found in Bazar Mochian, Amritsar.
- April 16, 1984: Shri Malak Singh and Shri Barjinder Singh were shot dead in the Golden Temple.
- April 16, 1984: A dead body was found near Manawala Kalan, Amritsar.
- April 16, 1984: The post office in village Kauli, District Patiala, was set on fire.
- April 16, 1984: Shri Kabal Singh and Shri Joginder Singh, gangmen, while on patrol duty at Gharyala railway station were shot at. Shri Joginder Singh was injured.
- April 17, 1984: The dead body of a woman was found lying near village Walla, District Amritsar. The body was identified as that of Baljit Kaur, alleged killer of Surinder Singh Sodhi.
- April 17, 1984: Shri Inder Pal Gupta, chief of the Hindu Suraksha Samiti, Chandigarh, was killed.
- April 17, 1984: Three Home Guard jawans were killed near Bariwali railway station in District Faridkot.
- April 19, 1984: The railway track between Kasubegu and Gunnana railway stations was blown up.

- April 19, 1984: The shop of Madan Lal, a Nirankari at Girdiwala, District Hoshiarpur, was set on fire.
- April 19, 1984: The office of Shri S. L. Bawa, DAV College, Batala, was set on fire.
- April 19, 1984: Record and furniture of a post office, Rode, Baghapurana, District Faridkot, was set on fire.
- April 20, 1984: The Jogiwala railway station was set on fire.
- April 20, 1984: Shri Raghubir Singh of Dharamkot was attacked and seriously injured. He later died.
- April 21, 1984: Shri Balmukund, who was sleeping in a room of a flour mill at Batala, was shot at and injured.
- April 21, 1984: Hindu passengers and a conductor of a bus were deprived of their cash and wrist watches near Bhogpur in District Hoshiarpur.
- April 22, 1984: Shri Sukhdev Pal Sharma, Sarpanch and Sardara Singh were killed and two others injured in village Nangalmaja in District Kapurthala.
- April 22, 1984: A dead body was found lying near Guru Ram Dass Sarai, Amritsar.
- April 23, 1984: Squadron Leader Paramjit Singh was murdered in his village, Preet Lari, P.S. Lopoke, Amritsar.
- April 23, 1984: Rs. 44,583 were looted from the Punjab and Sind Bank, Majitha Road, Amritsar.
- April 23, 1984: Shri Thakur Singh of village Shaheed in District Amritsar was killed.
- April 23, 1984: The passengers of a bus going to Abohar were deprived of their belongings. Three persons were injured in firing.
- April 23, 1984: A shop owned by Shri Bhag Singh at Gurdwara Chowk, Muktsar, was set on fire. Estimated loss due to fire is Rs. 50,000.

- April 23, 1984: In an encounter between a Nihang group and a CRPF unit at Ferozepur, 6 persons were killed and 8 injured.
- April 24, 1984: Shri Joginder Singh, resident of Phulke, Batala, was fired at and injured.
- April 24, 1984: Sant Ram Singh of Babbanpur in District Sangrur was fired at and seriously injured.
- April 25, 1984: A hand-grenade was thrown near the old bus stand, Jalandhar, when the Divisional Comndt., Punjab Home guards, Jalandhar, was passing nearby in his official jeep. The hand-grenade exploded away from the jeep and no damage was done.
- April 26, 1984: Shri Joginder Pal, commission agent at Bhikwind was shot at near village Kutcha Pukka in District Amritsar and was injured.
- April 26, 1984: Shri Ramesh Kumar, an electrical mechanic, was shot dead at Amritsar while he was sitting in his shop.
- April 26, 1984: In an exchange of fire between the BSF and extremists near Gurdwara Bibi Kahan Kaur, Moga, 8 persons died.
- April 26, 1984: Shri Dev Raj was shot dead while he was sitting in his shop at village Samadh Bhai in District Faridkot.
- April 26, 1984: A portion of the railway track was blown off between Ferozepur and Kasubegu railway stations.
- April 26, 1984: Near the Talli Saida Sahu railway station, a bridge was damaged in a bomb explosion.
- April 26, 1984: Some portion of the railway track was damaged between Khai Phemeke and Jhok Tehal Singh railway stations.

- April 28, 1984: The shop of Shri Ram Lubhaya at Moga was set on fire.
- April 28, 1984: About Rs. 75,000 were snatched from the cashier of the Punjab State Electricity Board, Hamira in District Kapurthala at pistol point.
- April 28, 1984: Rs. 53,533 and a vehicle were snatched from an employee of the Punjab State Electricity Board near the railway crossing Tarn Taran.
- April 28, 1984: Five employees of the Punjab State Electricity Board who were carrying the salary of the staff in a vehicle were fired at near Batala. As a result, three persons were injured.
- April 28, 1984: A bomb was thrown at a CRPF party near Multania railway crossing, Bhatinda. Three jawans were injured. Two others also received injuries.
- April 28, 1984: Shri Satish Kumar was shot dead in village Dala in District Faridkot.
- April 30, 1984: Giani Bachan Singh, retired DSP, and Head Constable Milkha Singh, were shot dead at Amritsar. The Giani's wife, Smt. Amarjit Kaur and daughter, Miss Harjit Kaur, who were seriously injured, died later.
- April 30, 1984: Shri Harbhajan Singh and Shri Darshan Lal were killed and five others were injured when they were watching T.V. in the National Rice Mill at Talwandi Bhai, Ferozepur.
- May 1, 1984: Some furniture and records of the Polytechnic Institute, Hoshiarpur, were set on fire.
- May 1, 1984: The dispensary and record room of a Government Middle School at Hayatnagar, Gurdaspur, were set on fire.
- May 1, 1984: Some part of the Chola of Nishan Sahib in a Gurdwara under construction at Thein Dam was burnt.

- May 1, 1984: Shri Gurcharan Singh was attacked at Ludhiana and was injured.
- May 2, 1984: A saw-mill belonging to Shri Raunaq Singh at Patiala was set on fire.
- May 2, 1984: Shri Pishora Singh, a Parmukh Nirankari, was shot at when he was going to Morinda, Ropar, on his motor cycle. He was injured.
- May 2, 1984: Shri Lakha Singh, a Congress (I) ex-MLA, was shot at in his fields at Khadoor Sahib, District Amritsar. He was seriously injured. His gunman, Chanchal Singh, was killed. Constable Surjeet Singh who was also injured died later. In the return of fire by the gunman two of the assailants were also killed.
- May 2, 1984: The cashier of the Government College Tarn Taran was deprived of Rs. 42,000 at pistol point.
- May 4, 1984: Shri Jaswant Singh, a Nirankari, was shot at in Tarn Taran. He was seriously injured.
- May 5, 1984: Six silver 'chhattars' were removed from the idols in Digambar Jain Mandir, Bazar Sotiwala, Clock Tower, Amritsar. The culprits also took away the wrist watch of the pujari.
- May 6, 1984: A bomb was hurled at the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Amritsar.
- May 7, 1984: Shri Nagin Chand, a resident of Chogatewala, District Ferozepur, was shot dead.
- May 7, 1984: Shri Narain Das, Chela of Mahant Joginder Dass of Ghanta Ghar, Amritsar, was shot at and injured.
- May 7, 1984: Shri Hari Chand, a brick kiln owner, was way-laid and injured while returning to his village Tarsika, Amritsar.

- May 7, 1984: Shri Hansraj of Kotli Wasawasingh, Valtoha, District Amritsar, was shot dead.
- May 8, 1984: An attempt was made to set fire to the Mohali post office at Ropar.
- May 8, 1984 : A post office located at village Sohana, Ropar, was set on fire.
- May 8, 1984 : A grenade was thrown inside a shop at Jalandhar. It did not explode.
- May 8, 1984 : Shri Pargat Singh while sleeping in his house in Bangla Rai, District Amritsar, was shot at and injured.
- May 10, 1984 : Giani Partap Singh former Jathedar of the Akal Takht, Amritsar was shot dead at his residence in Tahli Chowk, Amritsar.
- May 10, 1984 : A shop of Shri Sohan Lal, near the Medical College, Amritsar, was set on fire.
- May 10, 1984: Dr. Satpal Garg was shot at and injured at Faridkot.
- May 11, 1984 : A chowkidar of the DAV College, Jalandhar, was fired at and injured. The culprits also set on fire the records of the office of the College and broke window panes.
- May 11, 1984 : A bomb was hurled on the roof of Income Tax Office, Mansa.
- May 11, 1984 : The shop of Shri Gian Singh at Amritsar was set on fire. One person was shot at and injured.
- May 12, 1984 : The CRPF stopped for checking a "Kar Sewa" truck coming from the Golden Temple complex. The occupants fired on the CRPF and tried to speed away. The truck was finally stopped and the occupants escaped into the Golden Temple complex. A large quantity of arms and ammunition was recovered from the truck.

- May 12, 1984: Shri Ramesh Chander, Editor of Hind Samachar, Jalandhar, was shot dead. His two gunmen were injured.
- May 13, 1984: A CRPF party was fired at near Pakhowal, in District Ludhiana. One constable died on the spot and another was injured.
- May 13, 1984: Shri Pawan Kumar, cloth merchant of Adalat Bazar, Patiala, was shot at and injured.
- May 13, 1984: Shri Gurmeet Singh, Home Guards volunteer, was shot dead and Constable Shiv Dutt Sharma of the Railway Protection Force and Shri Dev Raj were injured at Jadoke Railway Station, District Amritsar.
- May 14, 1984: Four hand-grenades were hurled at a CRPF camp at village Ghuman, District Gurdaspur. Miscreants also fired with sten-gun resulting in injuries to 6 CRPF men.
- May 14, 1984: Mahant Gopal Dass of Samadh, Baba Gulab Dass near Chhattiwind canal, Amritsar, was shot dead and one other person was seriously injured. He also died in hospital.
- May 14, 1984: A dead body with bullet injuries was found near Haveli Sohan Singh in Sultanwind area, Amritsar.
- May 14, 1984: Shri Rajinder Kumar was shot at and injured at Baretta, District Bhatinda.
- May 14, 1984: Some persons opened fire in the bazar at Jaito, District Faridkot, resulting in the death of one person and injuries to six others.
- May 14, 1984: Two Railway Protection Force jawans were shot at Rayya Railway Station, District Amritsar.
- May 14, 1984: Shri Niranjn Singh, Granthi of Gurdwara Toot Sahib, Amritsar, was killed.

- May 15, 1984: A revolver and six cartridges were snatched from ASI Harbans Singh and two rifles along with 25 cartridges from two constables. The culprits fled into the Tarn Taran Gurdwara.
- May 15, 1984: Rs. 4,737 were looted from the New Bank of India branch at village Ladhowali Uttar, District Ferozepur, and one wrist watch was snatched from the cashier.
- May 15, 1984: Shri Ramesh Kumar and Shri Tarlochan Singh were fired at and injured at Gurdaspur. Shri Ramesh Kumar died later.
- May 16, 1984: The office of Employment Exchange, Batala, District Gurdaspur, was set on fire.
- May 16, 1984: Head Constable Raj Singh, who was going on his scooter with Shri Kamal Kumar to Ajnala, District Amritsar, was waylaid. His scooter and wrist watch were snatched. He was shot at and injured.
- May 16, 1984: A 'khokha' of Shri Ganga Ram was set on fire at Amritsar.
- May 16, 1984: A bus was set on fire near Adda Jhurar Khera, Ferozepur.
- May 16-17, 1984: Shri Surat Singh, Granthi, was killed in village Mazauli, District Gurdaspur.
- May 17, 1984: The doors and furniture of DAV Higher Secondary School, Qadian, were set on fire.
- May 17, 1984: Ten Hindus travelling in a bus were looted at the point of arms near village Chaulang, District Jalandhar.
- May 17, 1984: Rs. 1,100 were snatched from Shri Ram Par-kash, owner of a brick kiln, Bhandar Kalan, Dis-

trict Amritsar. A truck was also taken away at pistol point.

- May 17-18, 1984. Shri Jarnail Singh, Granthi of a gurdwara in village Valtoha, District Amritsar, was murdered.
- May 18, 1984: Shri Vijay Kumar was deprived of a brief case containing Rs. 28,936 at pistol point near the Thathi bridge in District Amritsar.
- May 18, 1984: Shri Tikam Dass, Pujari of Mata Vaishnu Mandir at Amritsar, was injured with a kirpan.
- May 18, 1984: Some persons started firing at the house of Shri Rakha Ram of village Ram Singh Wala, District Amritsar, resulting in injuries to his mother, his wife Tripta Rani and one Jagrat Singh Mazhbi. The culprits set the house on fire.
- May 18, 1984: The salesman of a petrol pump at Amritsar was deprived of Rs. 15,000 at pistol point.
- May 18, 1984: The salesman of a petrol pump near Golbagh, Amritsar, was deprived of Rs. 5,100.
- May 18, 1984: Shri Kirpal Singh Bhatia, a Nirankari, was shot dead near village Beri, District Gurdaspur.
- May 19, 1984: Rs. 21,665 were looted at pistol point from a co-operative bank in village Sudhar, District Amritsar.
- May 19, 1984: A shop belonging to Shri Parveen Kumar at Amritsar was set on fire.
- May 19, 1984: Two persons fired at a police party near village Sabranwan, District Amritsar. The police party returned the fire and arrested Shri Inder Singh, a dismissed police constable, and recovered a pistol from him.

- May 20, 1984: Shri Balwant Ram, a chowkidar of the Canal Department posted at Rauni Bridge, Patiala, was shot at and injured.
- May 20, 1984: Shri Dharam Pal and Mangat Ram, brick kiln owners, were waylaid near Jagraon, District Ludhiana. They were shot at and injured.
- May 21, 1984: Four Hindus travelling in a Punjab Roadways Bus were shot dead near village Darapur in District Faridkot.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Darshan Lal and Shri Ram Rachhpal were shot dead and Shri Jyoti Parsad, Inspector of the Food Corporation of India, was injured in shooting incident in the grain market at Mari Megha in District Amritsar.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Joginder Nath, President of Hindu Suraksha Samiti, Mansa, District Bhatinda, was shot dead.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Rattan Chand, photographer, was killed and 13 others were injured when some persons fired at them and threw hand-grenade at Batala.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Rakesh Kumar, Head Constable, was shot dead in village Nurpur, Ferozepur.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Nand Lal and Shri Kala were shot at in Jalandhar district and were injured.
- May 21, 1984: A.S.I. Hardial Singh was shot dead near village Raipur Arayan, District Jalandhar. The assailants took away the revolver of the deceased.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Tarsem Lal, a commission agent was shot dead in his shop at Hariana, District Hoshiarpur. The assailants took away Rs. 7,000.
- May 21, 1984: Shri Amrit Lal Gupta was shot dead at Baghapurana, District Faridkot.

- May 22, 1984: Two Hindus travelling in a Punjab Roadways bus were shot dead at the bus stand at Gulal Pathra in District Faridkot.
- May 22, 1984: Shri Lalit Kumar was shot dead at Patiala.
- May 22, 1984: Dr. Dharam Pal, a medical practitioner, was shot dead in his shop in village Dhadiola in District Gurdaspur.
- May 22, 1984: Shri Ashok Kumar was shot at and injured near Raj Theatre, Amritsar, when he was returning home.
- May 22, 1984: A grenade was thrown at a CRPF truck at Amritsar. The grenade exploded on the road. Two persons were injured.
- May 22, 1984: About Rs. 37,000 were snatched at pistol point from the Secretary, Cooperative Societies, Batala.
- May 22, 1984: Bus passengers were looted at pistol point at Sangatpura bridge in District Amritsar.
- May 22, 1984: A bag containing Rs. 50,000 was snatched from Shri Satish Kumar, shopkeeper, Nabha.
- May 23, 1984: In a shooting incident in the grain market in village Balwera, district Patiala, four persons were killed and three injured.
- May 23, 1984: Three wooden 'khokhas' were set on fire in Bhatinda.
- May 23, 1984: Shri Bal Kishan was injured and deprived of his scooter and wrist watch in Bhiwanipur, District Kapurthala.

- May 23, 1984: Sant Harchand Singh Longowal declared that a non-cooperation programme would be observed from June 3, 1984 and that the programme would include non-payment of land revenue, charges for canal waters, loans and electricity bills, and the stoppage of the movement of foodgrains out of Punjab.
- May 24, 1984: In a shooting incident near village Tahara, District Ludhiana, 8 persons were killed.
- May 24, 1984: Rs. 31,698 were looted from the Central Co-operative Bank branch at Amritsar.
- May 25, 1984: Shri Dev Rattan Tuli, Vice-President, Hindu Suraksha Samiti, was shot dead at Ferozepur.
- May 25, 1984: Some persons fired at a running train between Guniana and Kasubegu, railway stations, District Ferozepur. Two officials, namely Shri Rattan Singh of RPF and Shri Satinder Singh of GRP, who were on duty in the train, were injured.
- May 25, 1984: Shri Ashok Kumar was fired at and injured at Baghapurana in District Faridkot.
- May 25, 1984: Shri Yashpal Singh, a goldsmith, was fired at and injured at Moga. He was deprived of his scooter, wrist watch and note-book.
- May 25, 1984: A bomb was thrown on a BSF truck near Hardo Chhania Chowk, Gurdaspur. As a result, Shri Kuldip Raj, constable, died.
- May 25, 1984: A bomb was thrown at the shop of Shri Megh Raj at Nabha. It was pushed out of the shop where it exploded.
- May, 25, 1984: A bomb explosion took place outside Navyug Cinema, Rajpura.

- May 26, 1984: Shri Rattan Chand, a teacher, was shot dead in village Mahlewan in District Gurdaspur.
- May 26, 1984: Shri Pritam Singh was shot dead near Gurdwara Hut Sahib, Sultanpur Lodi, District Kapurthala.
- May 26, 1984: Shri Ram Bal Dass priest of a temple at Urmur Tanda, District Hoshiarpur, was fired at, but he escaped. A visitor to the temple was injured by the culprits with a knife.
- May 26, 1984: The booking office of Maheshwari railway station on Ferozepur-Ludhiana section was set on fire.
- May 27, 1984: A CRPF jawan was fired at and injured at Amritsar.
- May 27, 1984: Shri Yash Pal Mohan, a shopkeeper, was fired at and injured at Qadian.
- May 27, 1984: Shri Mohan Singh, a Sub-Inspector, was fired at and injured at Jandiala Guru, Amritsar.
- May 27, 1984: Some extremists from inside Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran fired at the CRPF unit deployed at Sirhind Road, Patiala. Two CRPF jawans were injured.
- May 27, 1984: Shri Bihari Lal, shopkeeper of village Mahabali-pur, District Hoshiarpur, was shot dead.
- May 27, 1984: In a bomb blast outside Harbans Cinema, Patiala, 13 persons including a woman and a child were injured.
- May 28, 1984: Shri Daljit Kumar, a commission agent, was murdered in his shop at Baserke in District Amritsar.
- May 28, 1984: Shri Deepa was stabbed to death at Amritsar while asleep.

- May 28, 1984: Shri Gurcharan Das, a lawyer, was shot at and injured in village Karnana in District Jalandhar.
- May 28, 1984: Cash and ornaments worth about Rs. 22,000 were looted at pistol point from the house of Shri Teja Singh and his wife was injured at Baghapurana, Faridkot.
- May 28, 1984: A bomb explosion took place on the railway bridge between Lehara Mohabit and Lehra Khana railway stations.
- May 29, 1984: Shri Jaran Singh was shot dead in Wadala Granthian in District Gurdaspur. Three others were also injured. One of them succumbed to injuries.
- May 29, 1984: Shri Chiman Lal Kohli was shot dead at Amritsar while he was sitting in his store. A customer was also killed.
- May 29, 1984: BSF pickets at Bhan Singh, Tarn Taran, were fired at. As a result, Shri Arjun Singh a civilian, was killed at the spot. Two other civilians received bullet injuries. Lance Naik Mohan Lal and Constable Satinder Singh of the BSF, who were also injured, died. Shri Prem Prakash of BSF was injured.
- May 29, 1984: Shri Santokh Singh and Shri Swaran Singh were injured in firing in village Rasoolpura in District Amritsar. The culprits were nabbed and arms and ammunition were recovered from them.
- May 29, 1984: Jewellery worth some lakhs of rupees were looted at pistol point from the shop of Shri Basudev, goldsmith, at Patiala.

- May 30, 1984: Shri Krishna Lal Kumar, an architect, was killed at Patiala.
- May 30, 1984: Shri J. C. Arora, Director, Advance Training Institute, Ludhiana, was injured.
- May 30, 1984: Shri Chaman Lal was seriously injured and his wife Smt. Darshana was killed when some persons fired at them in their house in village Ghasi-tapur in District Gurdaspur.
- May 30, 1984: Some extremists fired with sten-guns from inside Guru Arjun Dev Sarai, Tarn Taran, on a BSF party.
- May 30, 1984: Shri Joginder Paul, shopkeeper, village Jodhpur, district Amritsar, was murdered. Shri Gurdev Singh was seriously injured.
- May 30, 1984: An amount of Rs. 13,877 and a cheque for Rs. 55,886.90 were snatched from the accountant, Canara Bank, Dharam Singh Market, Amritsar, at pistol point.
- May 30, 1984: One gun, one revolver, Rs. 3000 and ornaments worth Rs. 12,000 were looted from the house of Dr. Dalbir Singh at Sultanwind.
- May 31, 1984: Shri Jatinder Kumar was shot dead and three others injured in village Fatehbad in District Amritsar.
- May 31, 1984: Shri Chotey Khan and Shri Anwar Khan, milk sellers, were fired at in village Raipur, Patiala. Shri Chotey Khan was injured.
- May 31, 1984: Shri Satpal and Shri Desh Raj were fired and injured in village Thikariwala in District Gurdaspur.
- May 31, 1984: Shri Mohinder Prasad, a gangman, was injured near Roranwali railway station in District Fazilka.

- May 31, 1984: Shri Krishna Lal Goel was injured near village Bhokhra in District Bhatinda and was deprived of his scooter.
- May 31, 1984: The hall of the Government High School, Baretta, Bhatinda, was set on fire and some records and furniture were burnt.
- May 31, 1984: The Guru Granth Sahib 'Bir', along with 'rumalas' and 'palki', was set on fire at Patiala.
- June 1, 1984: Some extremists fired upon a BSF unit from inside the Golden Temple. The BSF returned the fire. As a result, 7 persons inside the Golden Temple complex and 3 outside the complex were killed. 16 persons inside the complex and 9 outside were injured.
- June 1, 1984: Shri Om Prakash, inspector of octroi post, Malout Mandi, District Faridkot, was killed and a friend was injured.
- June 1, 1984: One person was killed and one injured at Amritsar.
- June 1, 1984: Smt. Parsin Kaur was murdered in her house in Thathian in District Amritsar.
- June 1, 1984: Shri Jagjit Singh, resident of Muktsar, District Faridkot, was murdered with a kirpan. The assailants also injured Shri Kashmiri Lal, resident of Abohar Road, Muktsar.
- June 1, 1984: In a shooting incident in the park near Santoshi Mata Temple, Dhariwal, 5 persons were killed and 9 injured.
- June 1, 1984: Two persons Shri Govind Ram and Shri Ratan Lal Mistri were injured at Bhatinda.
- June 1, 1984: Shri Dev Prakash, postmaster, Sarbha Nagar, Ludhiana, was attacked and injured.
- June 1, 1984: Rs. 68,000 were looted at pistol point from a cooperative bank in village Vajuan Khurd, Nakodar.

- June 1, 1984: Shri Pramod Kumar was injured in a bomb explosion at his shop at Bhatinda.
- June 1, 1984: The shop of Shri Sukhjinder Singh Gill was set on fire at Patiala.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Sohan Singh was killed and Shri Dev Raj was injured in village Langeana Khurd in District Faridkot.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Shyam Lal was shot dead in village Lehanwali, District Faridkot.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Prakash Chand Nagra, was shot dead at Bhatinda.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Varinder Khullar was shot dead at Jalandhar.
- June 2, 1984: Three persons, namely Prakash, Baldev and Gopal were killed and 7 others were injured at Dhyampur in District Gurdaspur when some persons fired upon them.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Om Prakash Bagga, an ex-MLA and a worker of the Janata Party, was shot dead at Hoshiarpur.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Hem Raj, was shot at and injured when he was having food in his house at Bhatinda.
- June 2, 1984: The passengers, conductor and driver of a bus were looted near village Manohal in District Amritsar.
- June 2, 1984: Twelve or thirteen shops were set on fire and one person was shot dead and one was injured in Mandi Roranwali, Sadar Fazilka.
- June 2, 1984: A Punjab Roadways bus was set on fire near Verka in District Amritsar.
- June 2, 1984: Shri Hari Chand was abducted when he was going to Moga in a bus.

ANNEXURE VIII

**Excerpts from the statements of Shri Jarnail
Singh Bhindranwale**

**(i) Translation of excerpts from tape recorded speeches
transcribed from cassettes.**

“It should be clear to all Sikhs whether living in urban and rural areas that we are slaves and want liberation at any cost. To achieve this end, arm yourselves and prepare for a war and wait for orders.”

“Mind well, in case of any trouble, the muzzles of all the Sikhs in the army and the police will be towards that spot.”

“It is very clearly written there¹ that 12 bore gun does not require a licence. There is no need of a licence. If you are detected with a 12 bore gun and asked where is the licence, you can well point out, it is according to Anandpur Sahib resolution.”

“I beg to warn Sikhs to be vigilant against this trick. Keep on having negotiations but also have your preparations complete....preparations are to be complete.”

“It comes to 35 and not even 100. Divide 66 crores, then each Sikh gets only 35 Hindus, not even 36th. How do you say you are weak?”

“I had earlier directed that each village should raise a team of three youth with one revolver each and a motorcycle. In how many villages has this been done?”

¹Reference is to Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

“Every Sikh boy should keep 200 grenades with him.....”

“There is the need to raise motorcycle-groups in order to take revenge against perpetrators of crimes against the Sikhs.”

“Those of you who want to become extremists should raise their hands. Those of you who believe that they are the Sikhs of the Guru should raise their hands, others should hang their heads like goats.”

“As far as I am concerned, we want all the demands of the Anandpur Sahib resolution accepted i.e. ‘Sikhs are a separate nation (Qaum). That is all I have to say.”

(ii) Statements published in the Press

“A Sikh without arms is naked, a lamb led to slaughter....Buy motorcycles, guns and repay the traitors in the same coin.”

(“International Herald Tribune”, April 24, 1984.)

“Whoever performed these great feats¹ deserves to be honoured by the Akal Takht, the highest seat of the Sikhs.....if their killers came to me, I would weigh them in gold.”

(‘India Today’, April 30, 1983.)

“I ask them² to prepare themselves to join the fight for our independence as a separate nation.”

(Interview to ‘Daily Mail’, April 12, 1984.)

“The Sikhs are a separate nation and this fact must be recognised. The Sikh must have special status in the Indian union, the state of Punjab must be given the status enjoyed by Jammu & Kashmir under Article 370 of the Constitution.”

(Interview to the ‘Week’, March 27—April 2, 1984.)

“Frankly I don’t think that Sikhs can either live in or with India.”
(Interview to the ‘Sunday Observer’ on June 3, 1984 published in the newspaper on June 10, 1984.)

¹Reference is to the killing of Baba Gurbachan Singh and Lala Jagat Narain.

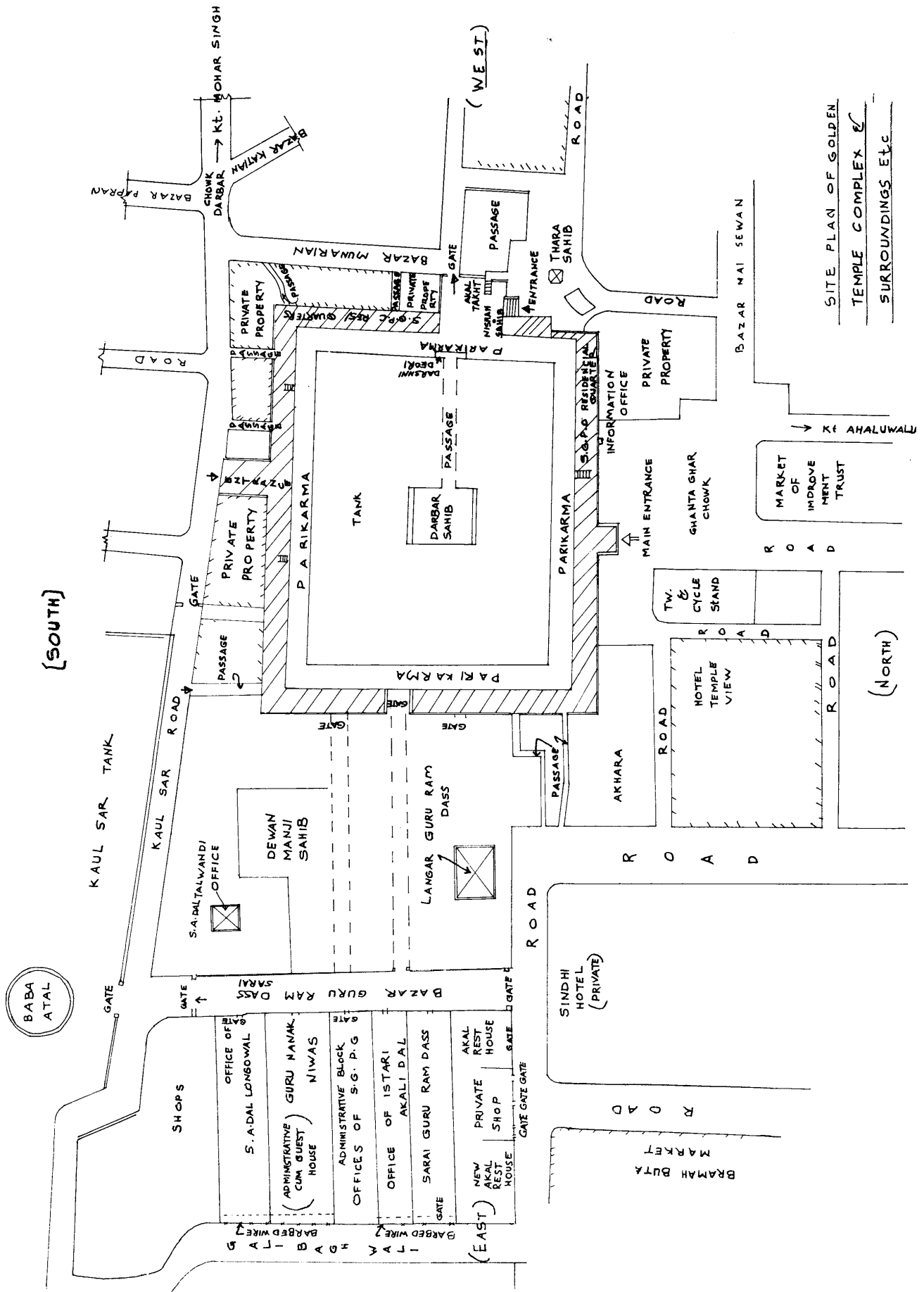
²Reference is to Sikhs now living in Britain.

ANNEXURE IX

Text of a Resolution Adopted by Parliament on April 29, 1982

“Resolved that this House expresses its deep anguish and concern over the situation recently created in the Punjab and strongly condemns certain calculated acts of sacrilege committed by some miscreants and fanatical elements in Amritsar, aimed at creating disharmony, disorder and misunderstanding among the patriotic and peace loving people of the State. The House reaffirms its commitment to the national policy of secularism, tolerance and amity among all sections of the Indian citizens, and trusts that the people of Punjab will not allow themselves to be swayed by any mischievous and irresponsible actions of a few misguided and anti-national persons. This House reiterates that the law shall take its course to bring the culprits to book speedily and trusts that all communities and every section of public opinion in Punjab will strive to maintain the traditional communal harmony, goodwill and peace, and continue to work together for the greater good of the State and our country.”

ANNEXURE X



SITE PLAN OF GOLDEN
TEMPLE COMPLEX &
SURROUNDINGS ETC

ANNEXURE XI

Details of civilian and army casualties, and of arms and ammunition recovered upto June 30, 1984

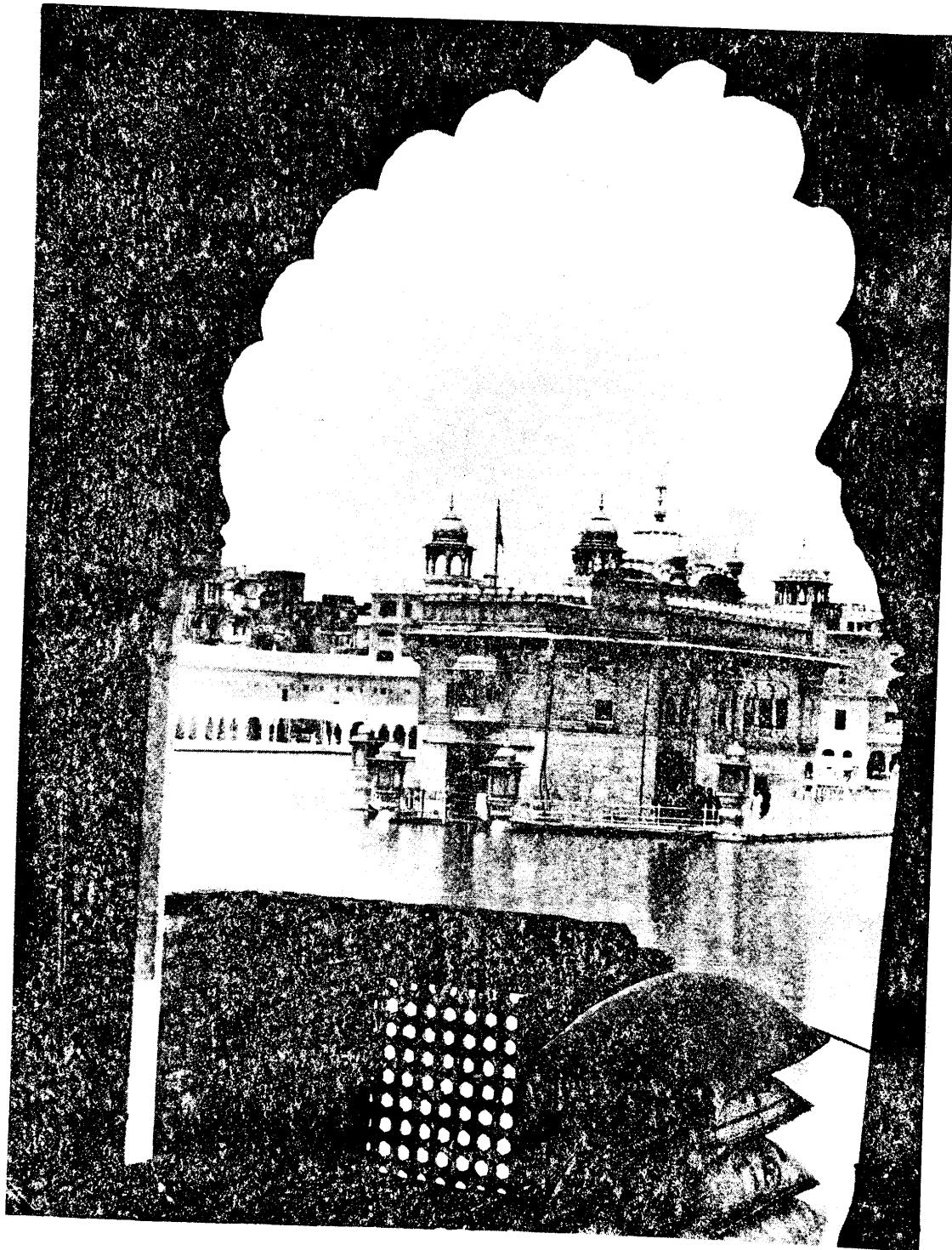
| | <i>In Area Golden Temple</i> | <i>Other Religious Places</i> | <i>Curfew Violation/ Cordon and Search Operations in other Areas</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--------------|
| 1. Civilian/Terrorist Casualties | | | | |
| (a) Killed | 493 | 23 | 38 | 554 |
| (b) Injured | 86 | 14 | 21 | 121 |
| 2. Army Casualties | | | | |
| (a) Killed. | | | | |
| (i) Offrs. | 4 | .. | .. | 4 Offrs. |
| (ii) JCOs | 4 | .. | .. | 4 JCOs. |
| (iii) ORs | 75 | 1 | 8 | 84 ORs. |
| (b) Injured. | | | | |
| (i) Offrs | 12 | 3 | .. | 15 Offrs. |
| (ii) JCOs | 17 | 2 | .. | 19 JCOs. |
| (iii) ORs | 220 | 19 | 14 | 253 ORs. |
| 3. Civilian/Terrorists Apprehensions | | | | |
| | 1592 | 796 | 2324 | 4712 |
| 4. Recoveries | | | | |
| (a) Light Machine Guns | 41 | .. | .. | 41 |
| (b) Sten Guns | 57 | 7 | 32 | 96 |
| (c) Point 303 Rifles | 377 | 5 | 50 | 432 |

| | <i>In Area Golden Temple</i> | <i>Other Religious Places</i> | <i>Curfew Violation/ Cordon and Search Operations in other Areas</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| (d) 7.62 mm Self Loading Rifles | 83 | .. | 15 | 98 |
| (e) 12 Bore guns | 88 | 51 | 204 | 343 |
| (f) 7.62 mm Chinese Rifles | 52 | .. | .. | 52 |
| (g) Assorted Rifles | 71 | 21 | 36 | 128 |
| (h) Revolvers all types | 49 | 15 | 25 | 89 |
| (j) Pistols all types | 33 | 10 | 65 | 108 |
| (k) Pistols country made 12 Bore | 61 | 17 | 11 | 89 |
| (l) RPG (Anti-Tank weapon) | 2 | .. | .. | 2 |
| (m) 2 inch Mortar Country made | .. | .. | 3 | 3 |
| (n) Mines | 128 | .. | .. | 128 |
| (o) Ammunition/Explosives—Large quantities have been recovered. | | | | |
| (p) HF Transmitter/ Receiver | 1 | | | |
| (q) Gold | 5.4 Kgs | | | |
| (r) Silver | 1.14 Kgs | | | |
| (s) Precious Stones | 1.442 Kgs | | | |
| (t) Cash | Over Rs. 30 Lakhs | | Rs. 1,53,559 | Over Rs. 31,53,559 |
| (u) Grenade manufacturing plant | 1 | | | |
| (v) Sten parts manufactur- ing shop | 1 | | | |
| (w) Pak Currency | .. | .. | Rs. 1,29,966 | Rs. 1,29,966 |
| (x) Masks | .. | 5 | .. | 5 |

GMGIPND—L—8 M of H.A.—6-7-84—1000.

PHOTOGRAPHS

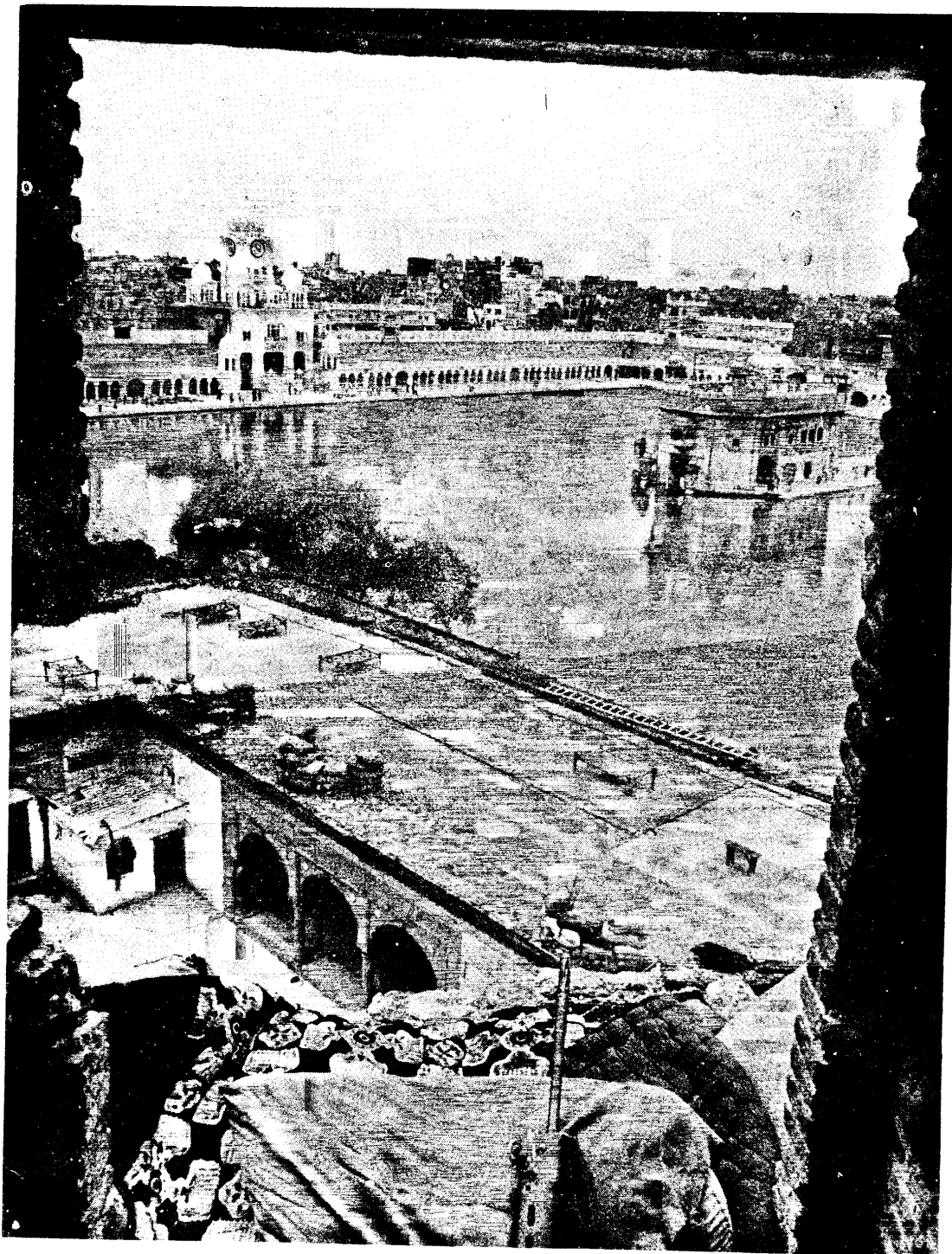
RECORDS



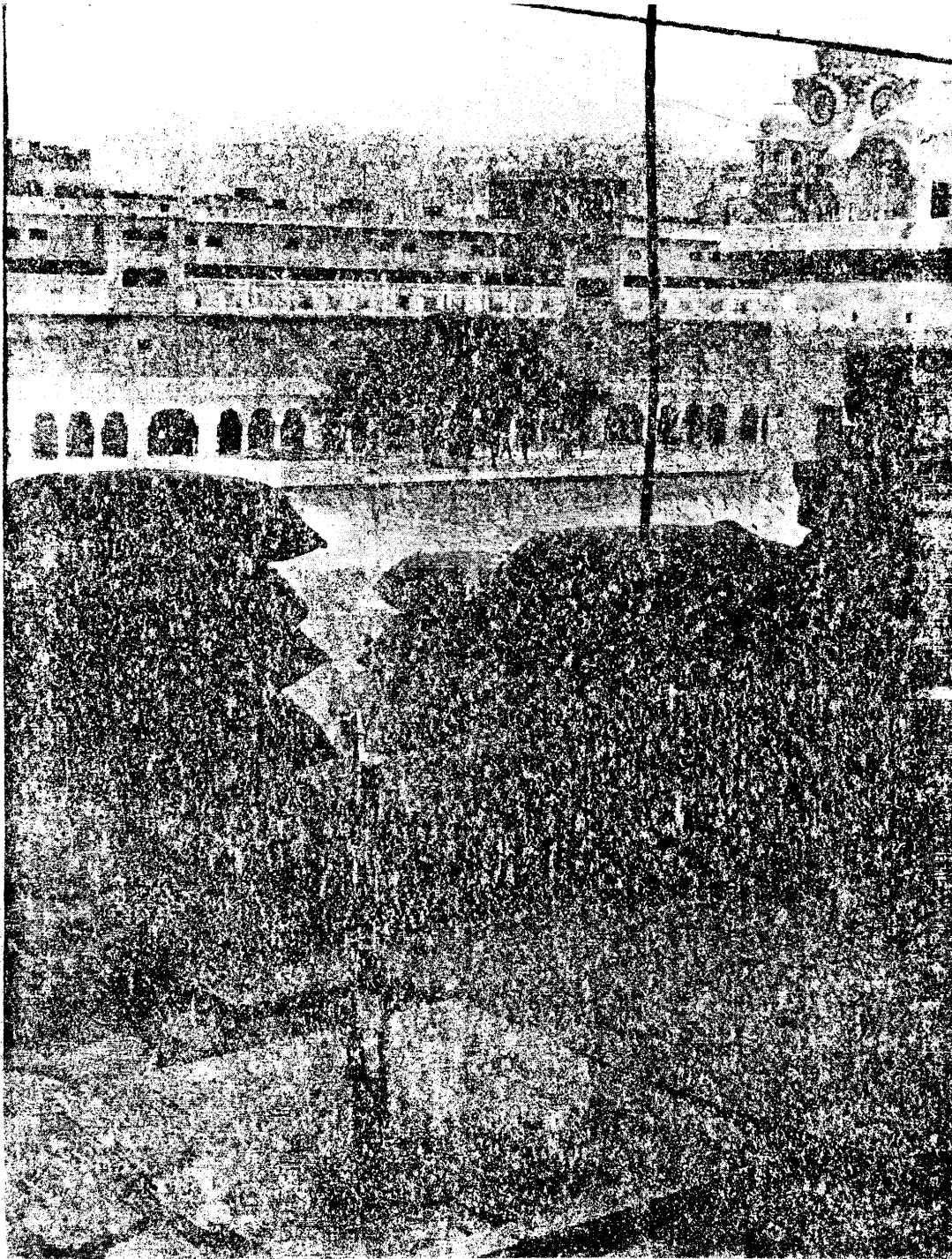
A fortification atop larger building (behind the Dukh-Bhanjni Beri) covering the Golden Temple area .



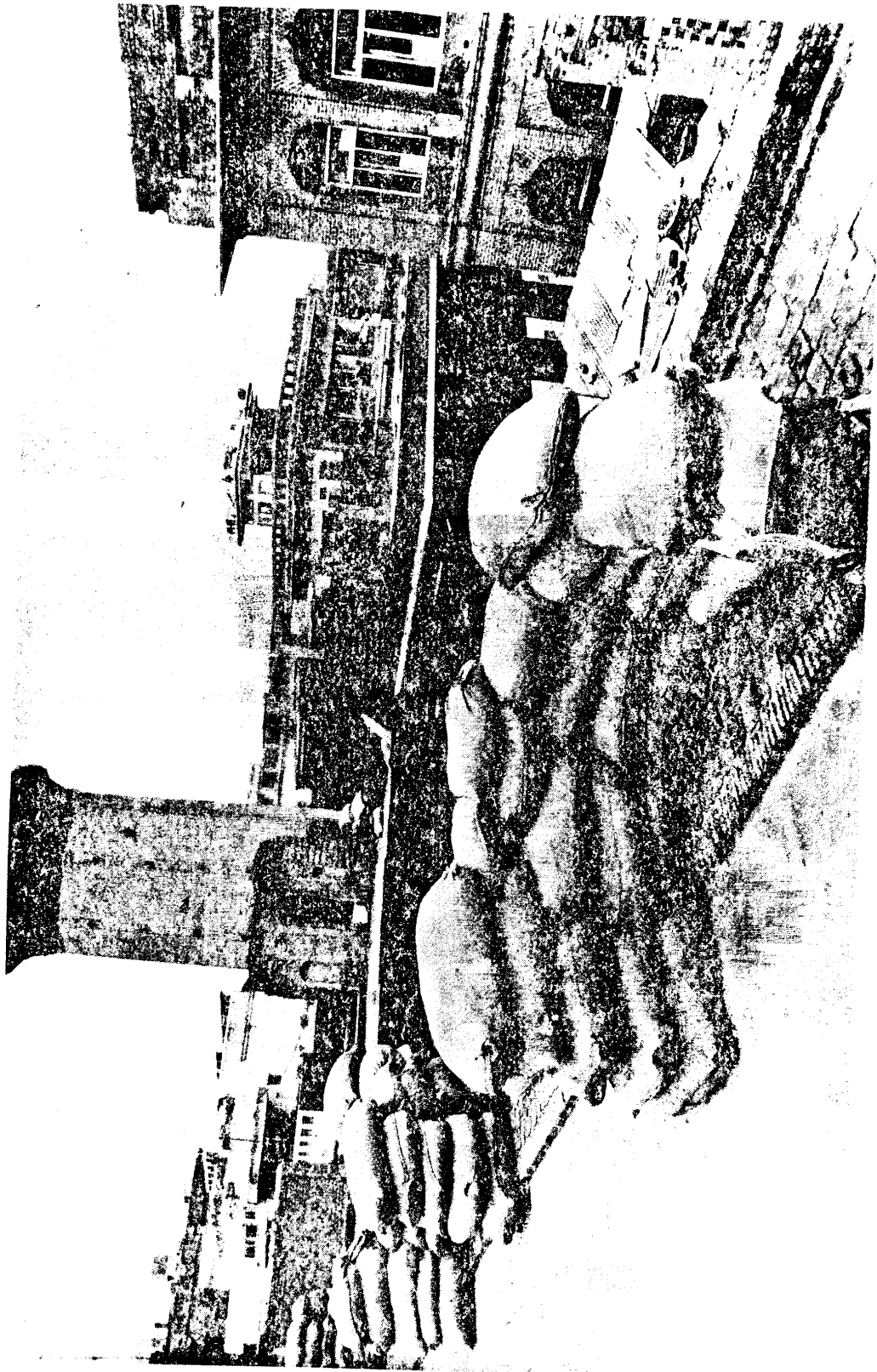
Loop-holes on the fortification atop the larger building which covered the Parikarma and Shri Harmandir Sahib.



A loop-hole on the minaret (Bunga) covering Shri Harmandir Sahib and the Parikarma.



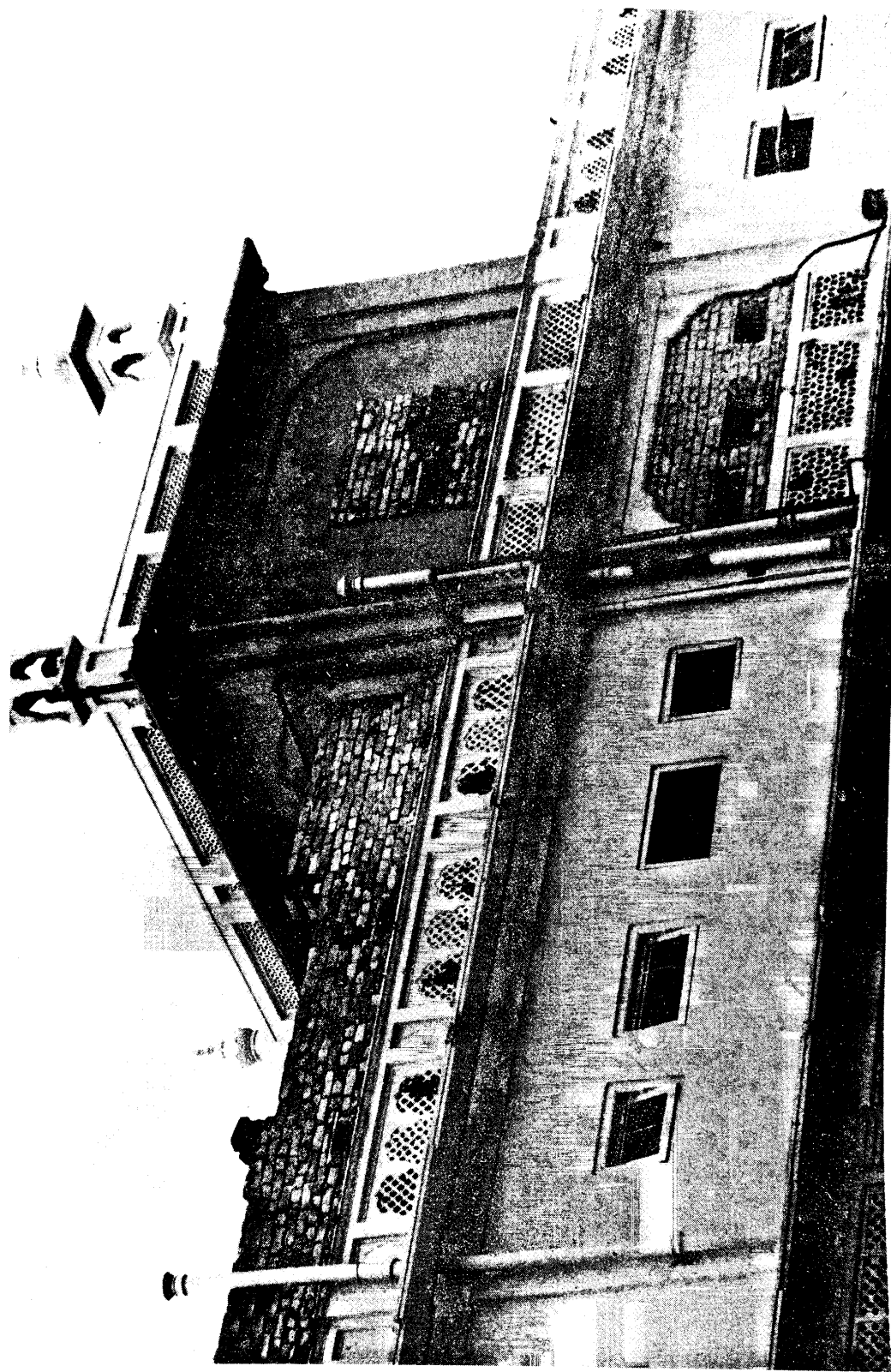
A light machine gun position on the right bank of the Akal Takht that covered the Baba Budha Ber Sahib and the Golden Temple area.



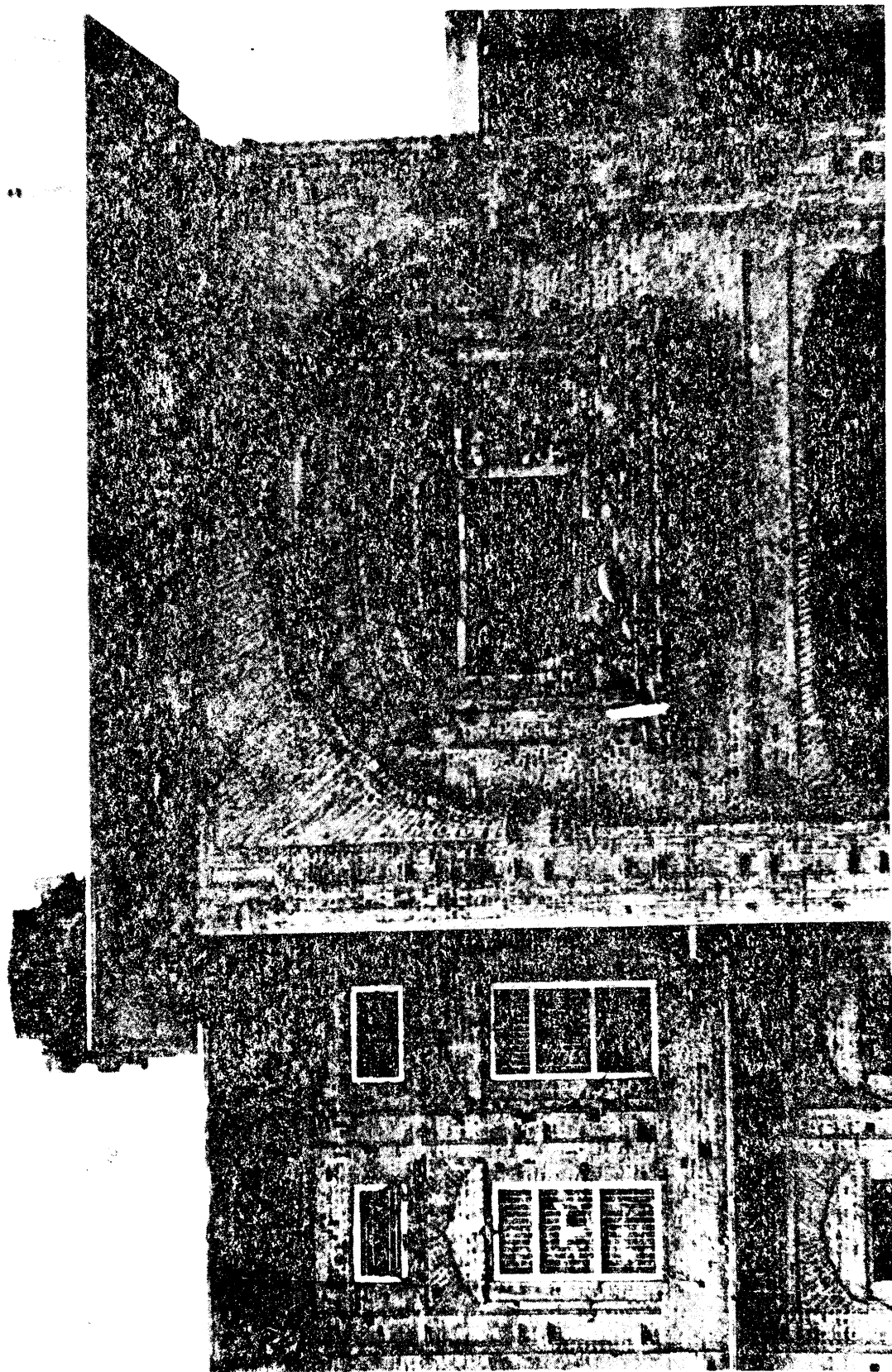
Fortification below the minaret to cover bazar between the Rest House and new larger building.



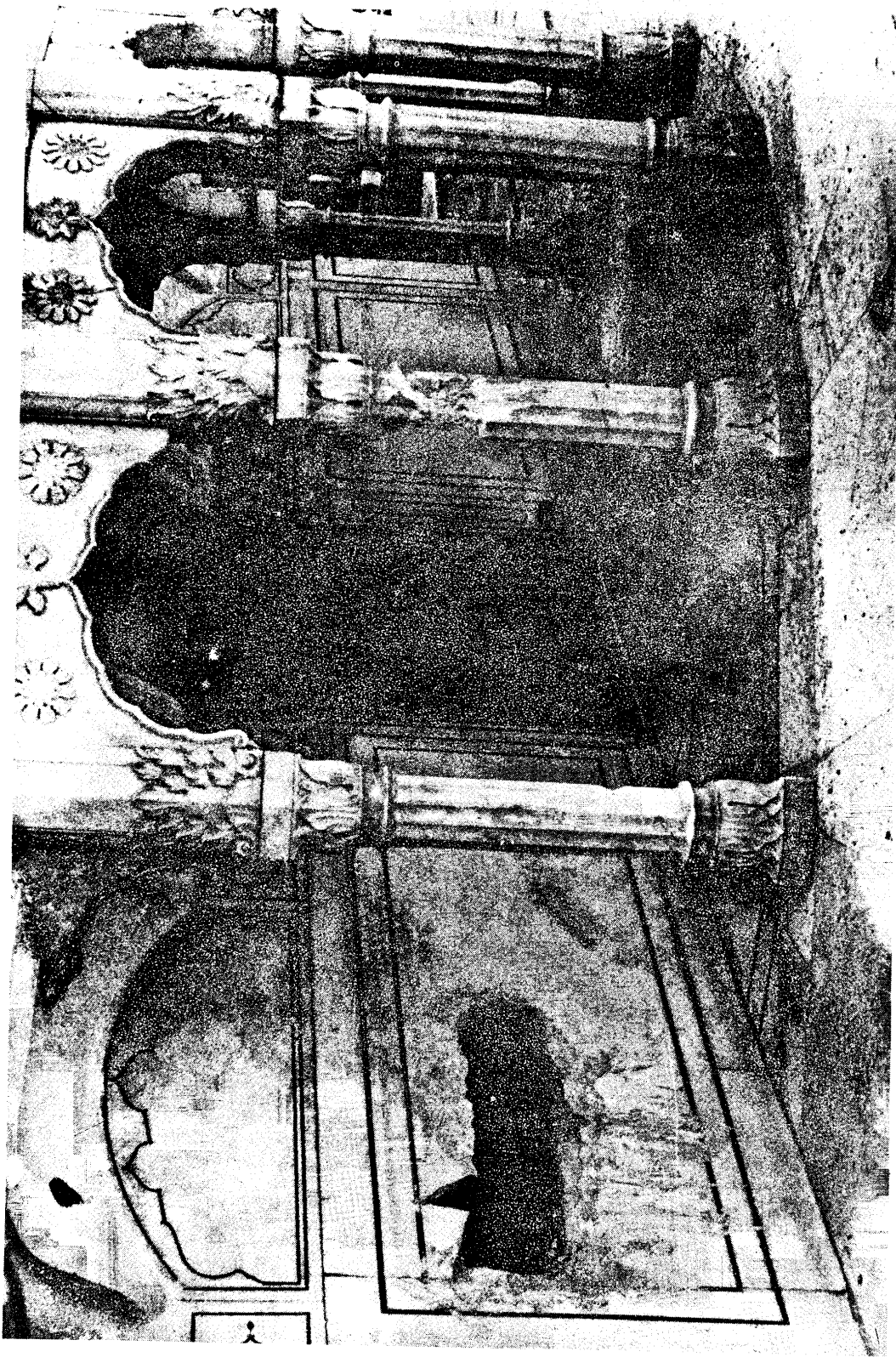
'Bunga' —A tower like minaret which was fortified completely and brought down heavy fire.



The frontage of clock tower entrance to the Golden Temple complex was heavily fortified with brickwork and slit-holes in window and "Jali". Ingeniously prepared loop-holes and apertures covered all approaches to the Temple.



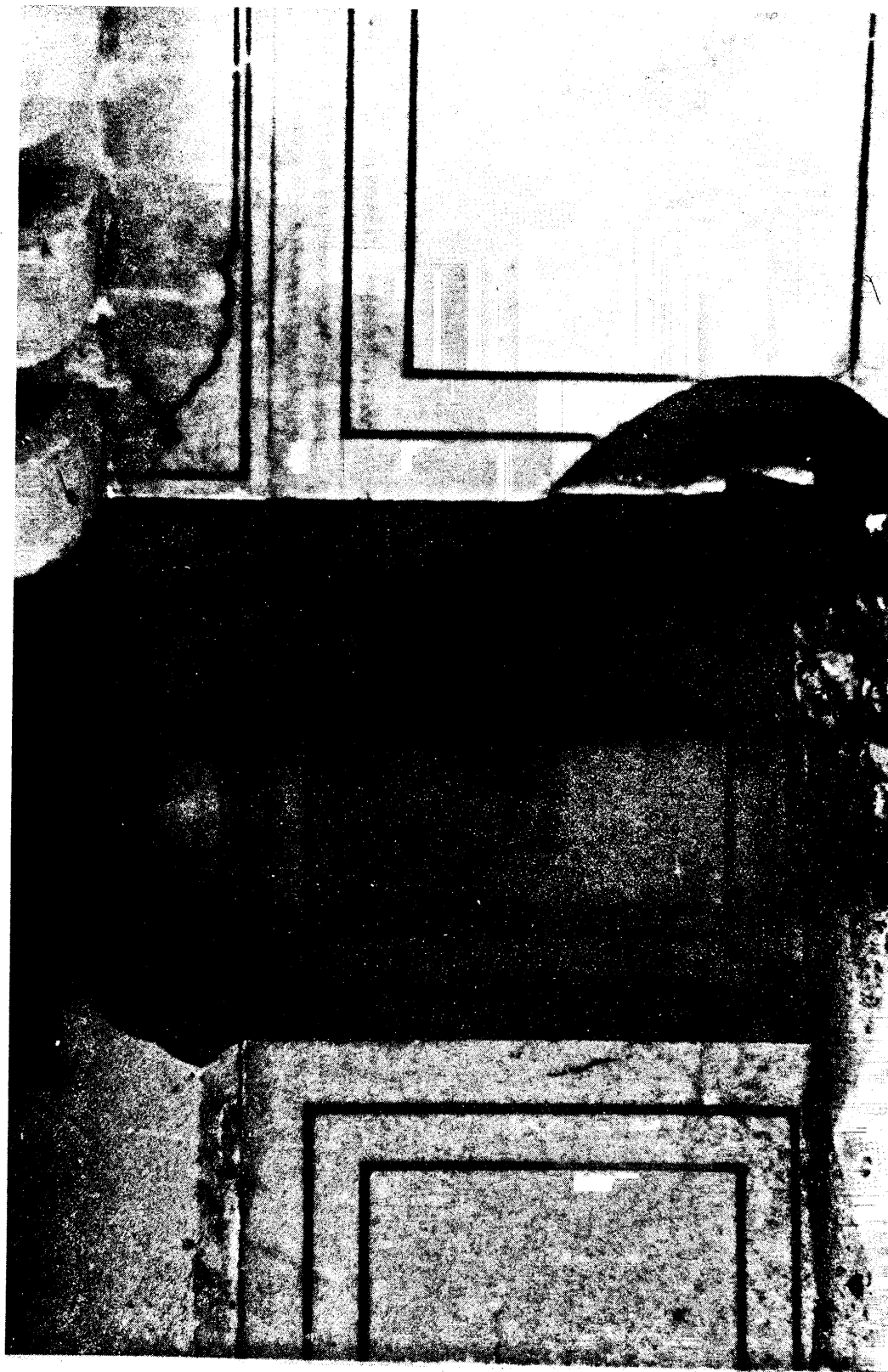
Sand bagged and bricked fortification on a building on the right flank of the Akal Takht that made the narrow area between the Darshani Deori & the Akal Takht a killing ground where the maximum number of jawans died.



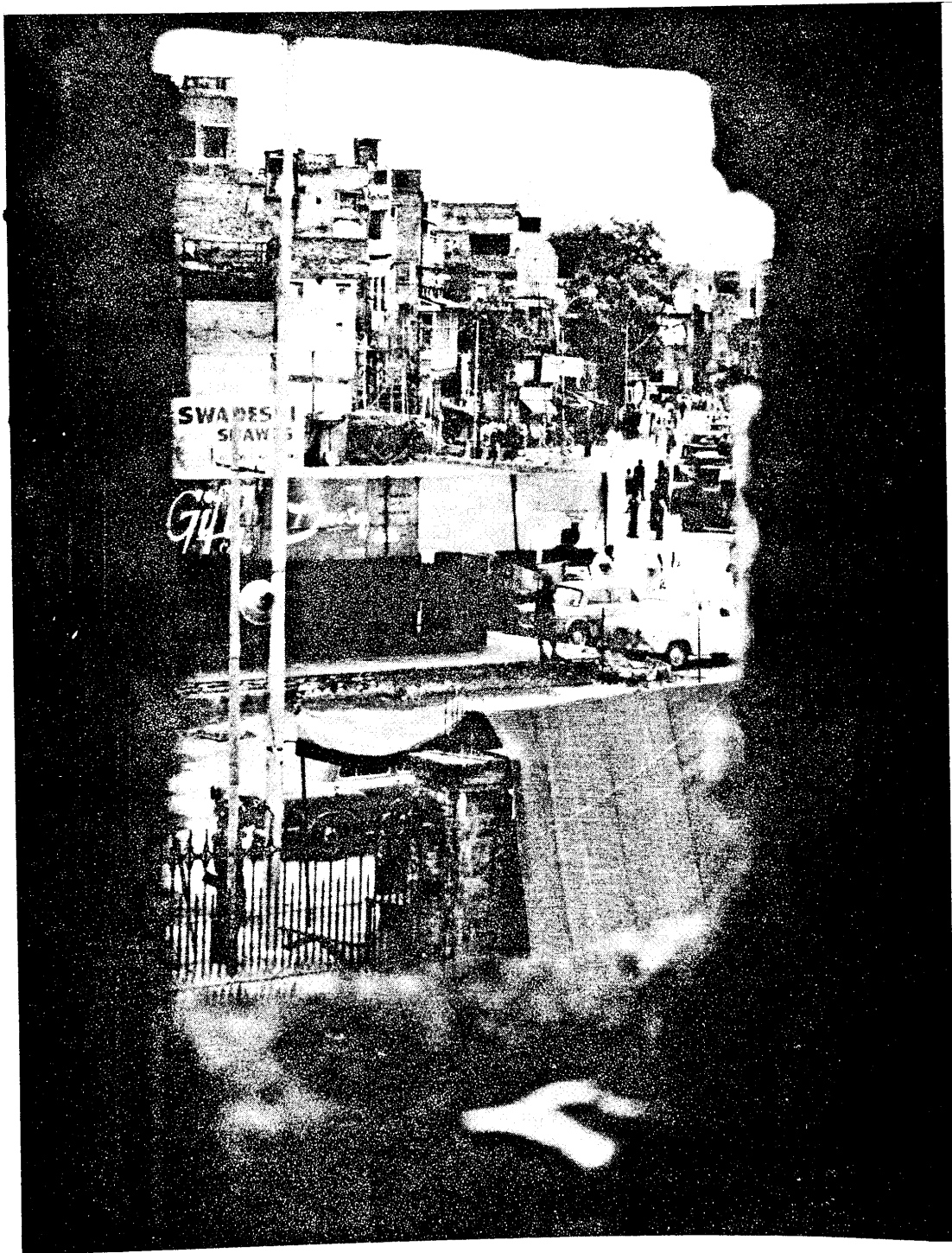
A loop-hole of the pill-box of machine gun that had been constructed by cutting the marble walls of the Akal Takht. The pillars of the Akal Takht stand mute witness to the violence of the terrorists.



The marble walls of the Akal Takht cut to make a pill-box the loop-hole of which at ground level—housed machine guns that caused heavy casualties on the jawans.



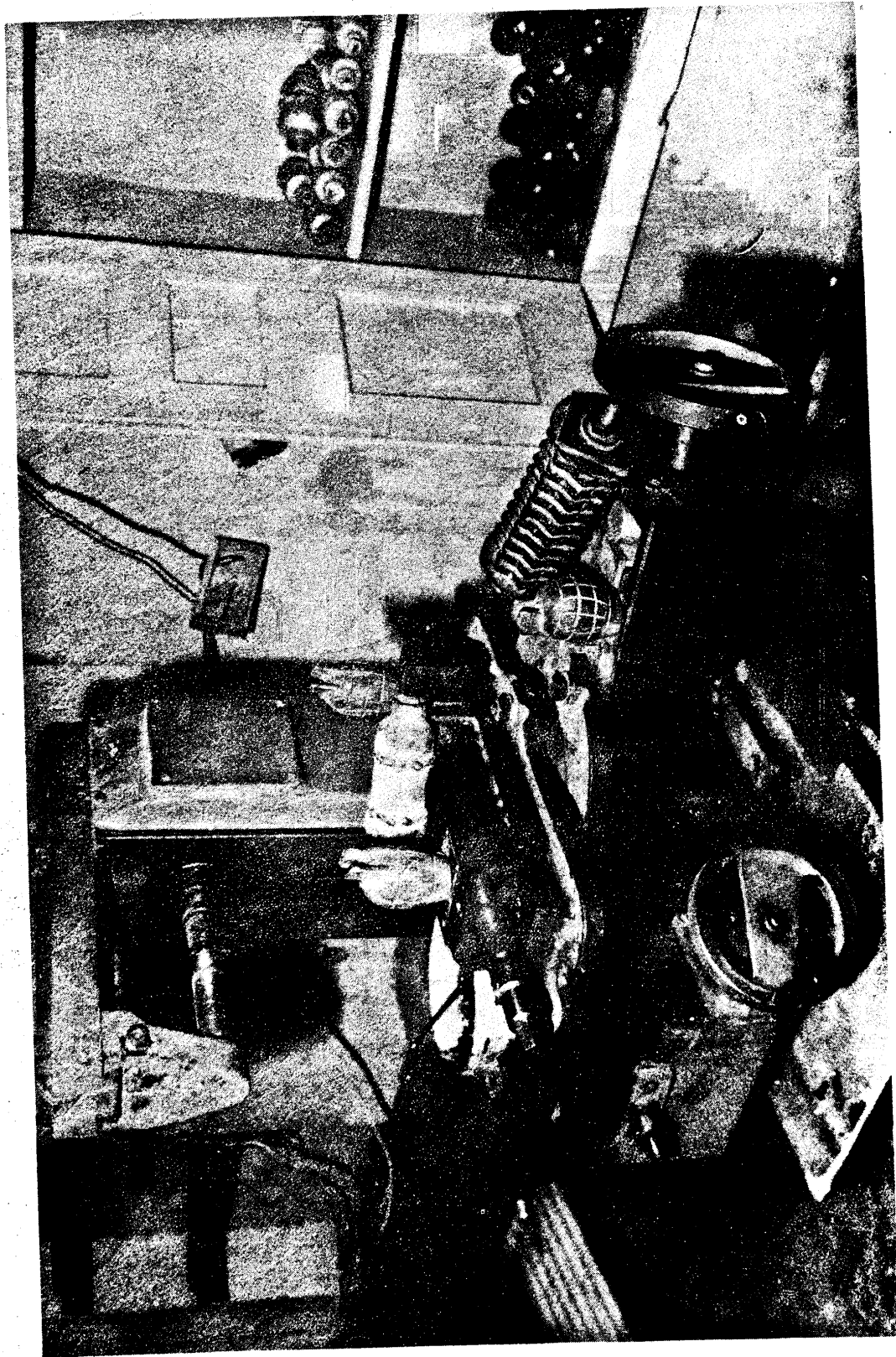
A ventilator above the basement of the Akal Takht from where weapons were used with deadly effect.



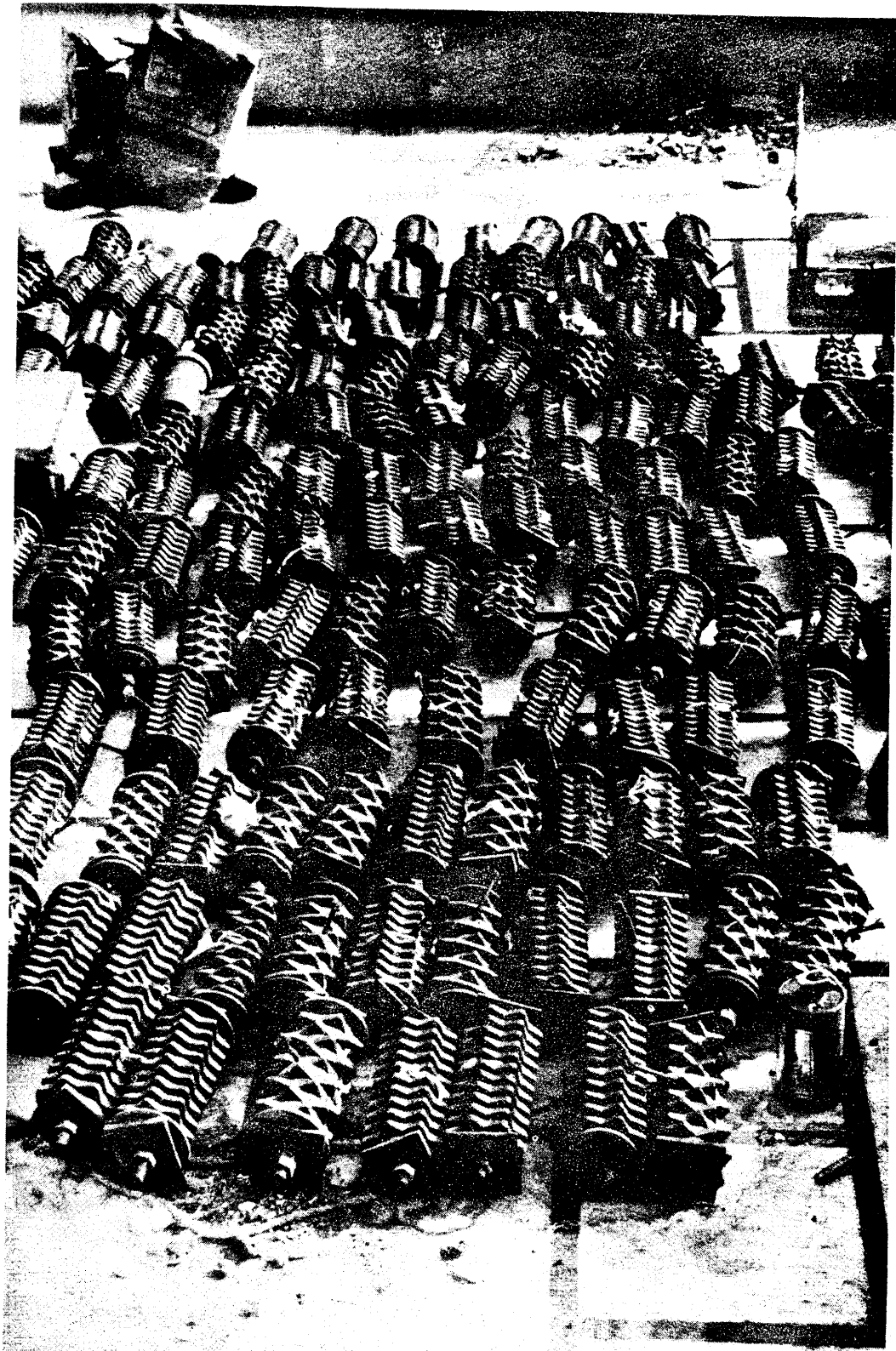
A loop-hole on the first floor of the clock tower entrance which covered the main approach.



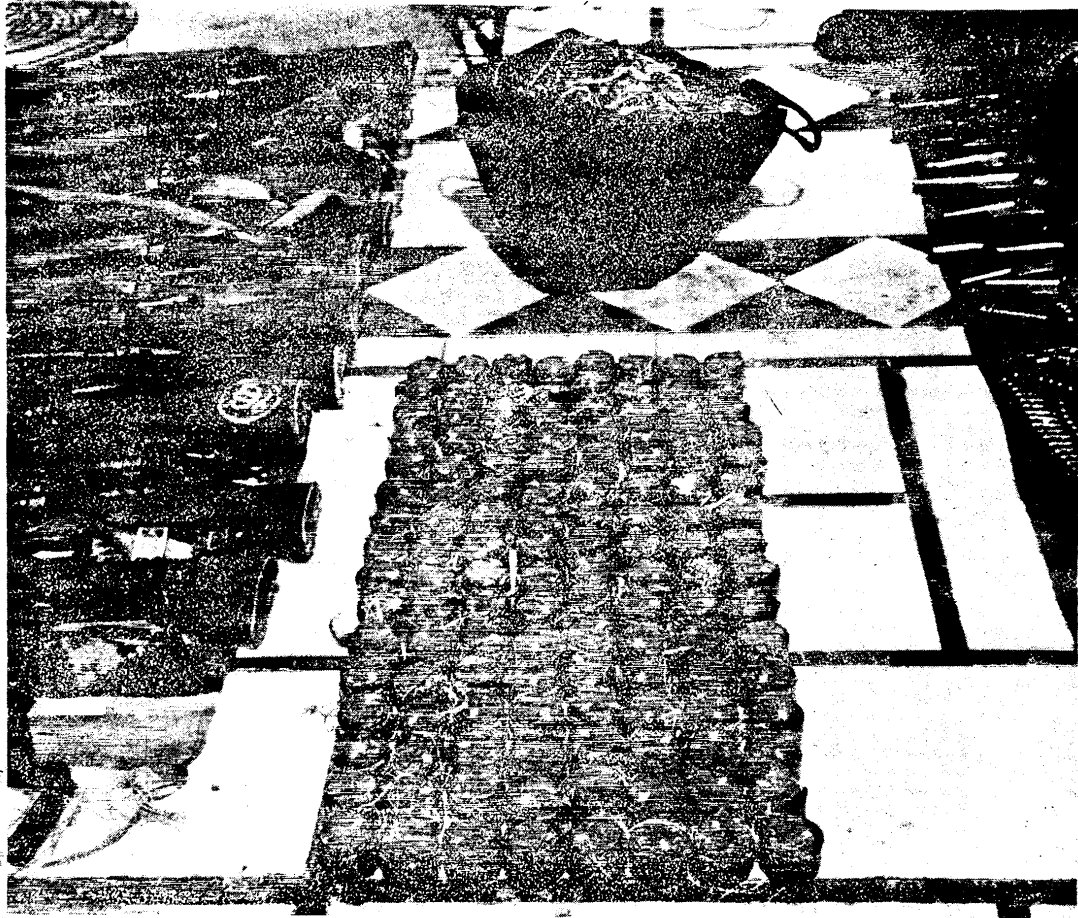
Country made and other hand grenades in the Golden Temple Grenade manufacturing factory.



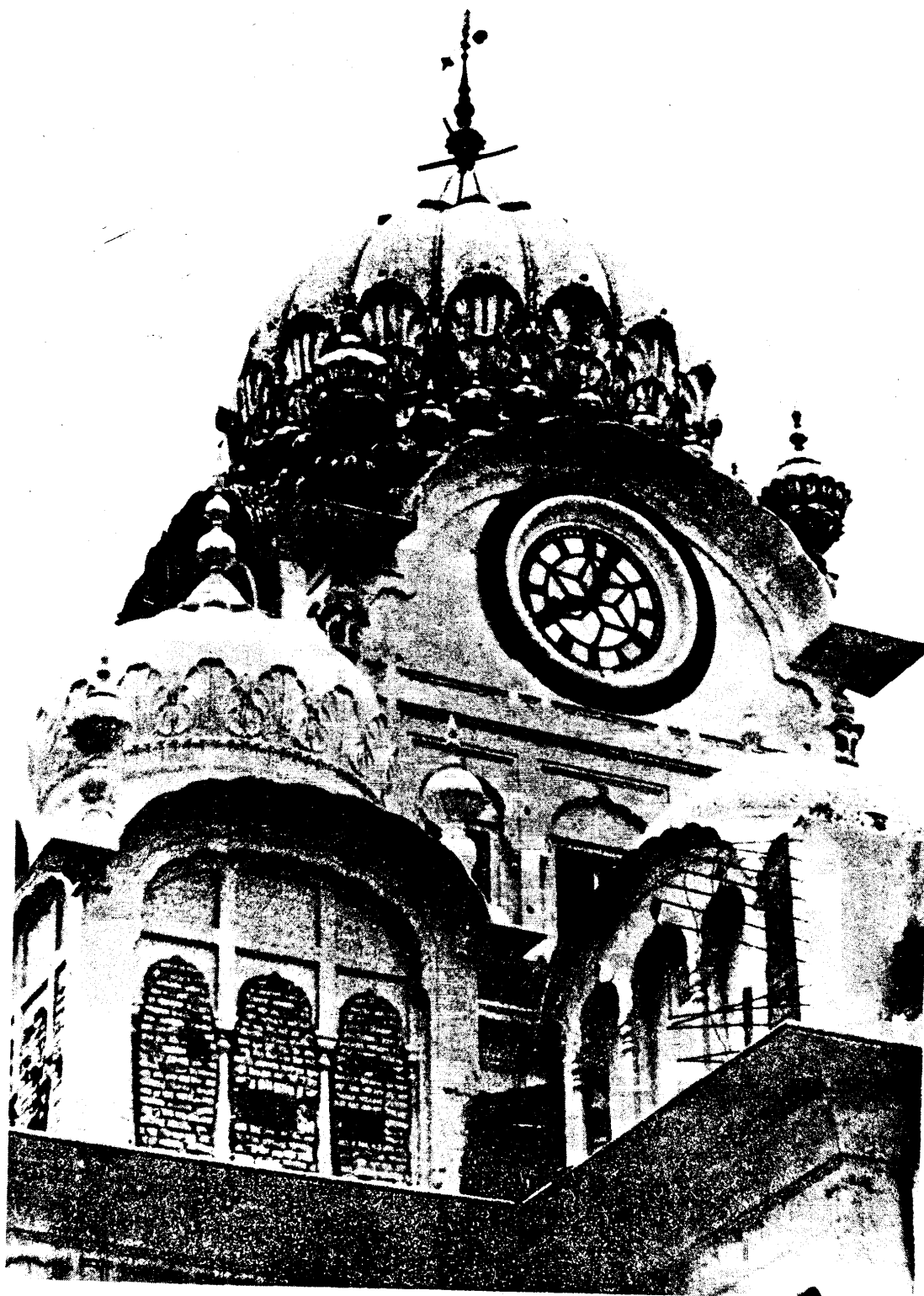
A grenade manufacturing factory hidden cleverly on the gates of Golden Temple complex



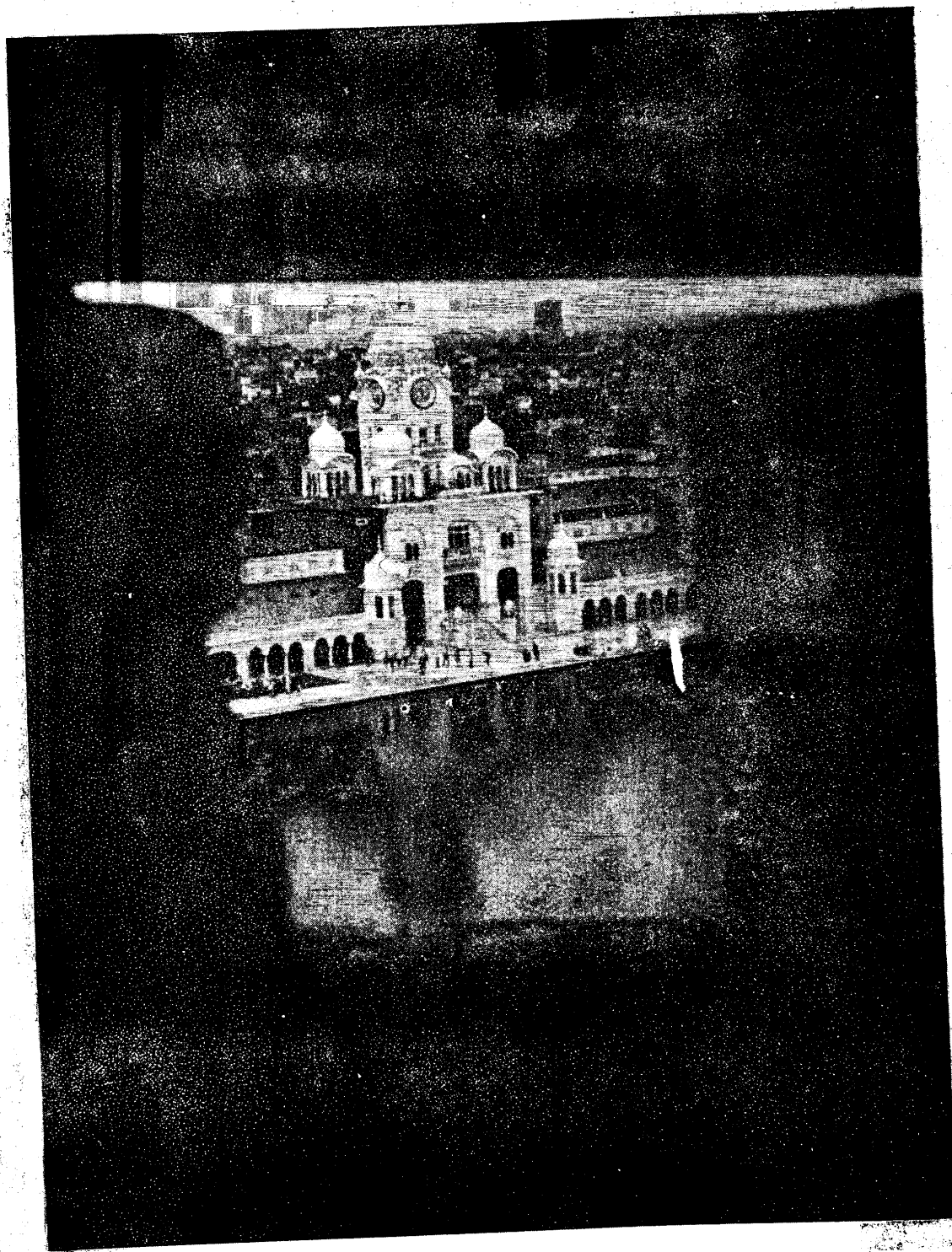
Country made deadly grenades referred to as "Batala Bombs" recovered from the Golden Temple complex



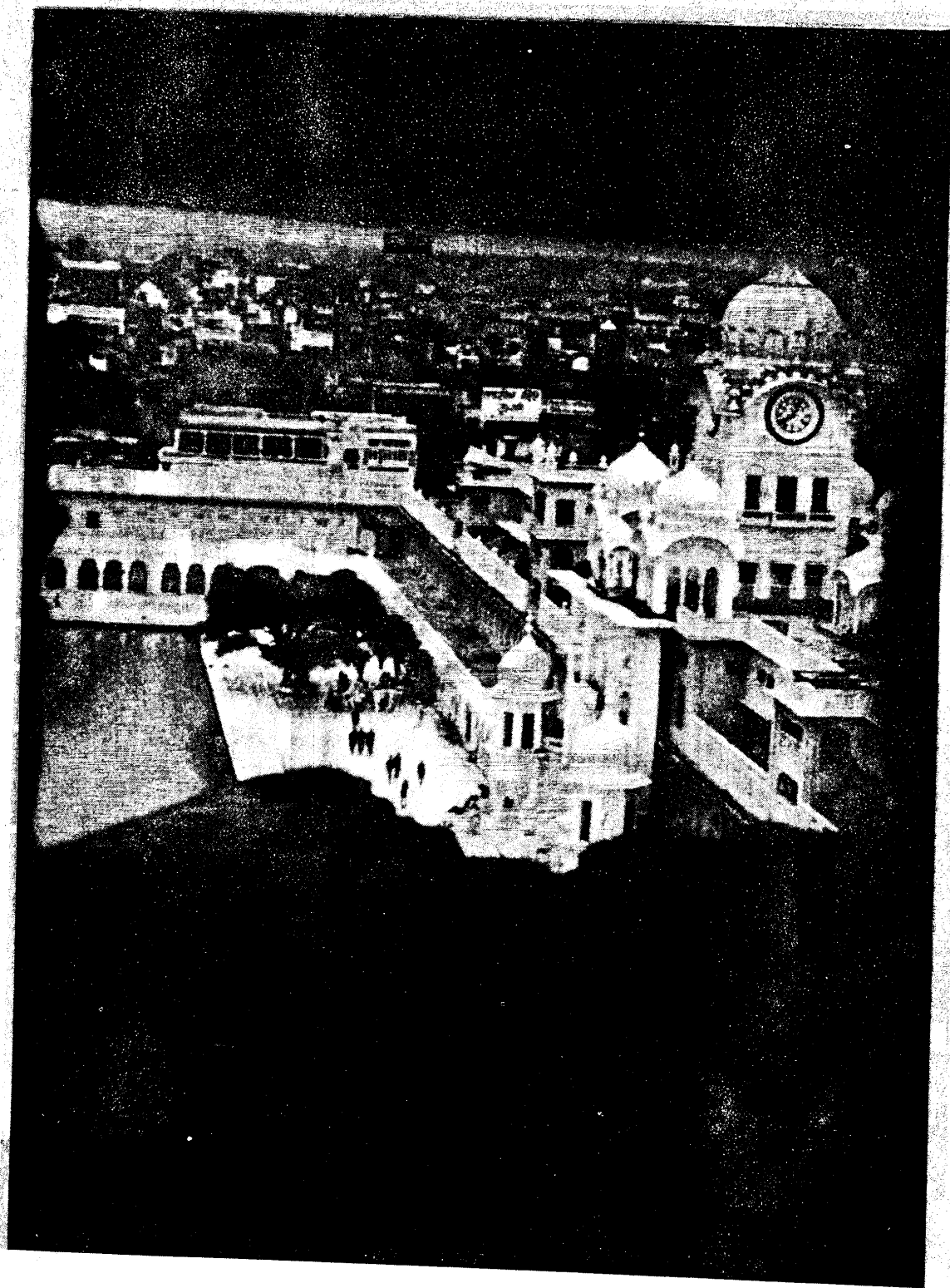
Anti personnel mines, pistols, sten guns, carbines and rifles of assorted makes recovered from the Golden Temple complex and lying on the Parikarma of the Golden Temple.



Machine guns and automatic rifles had fired from the slit-holes and apertures in the brick fortification below the dome of the main entrance.



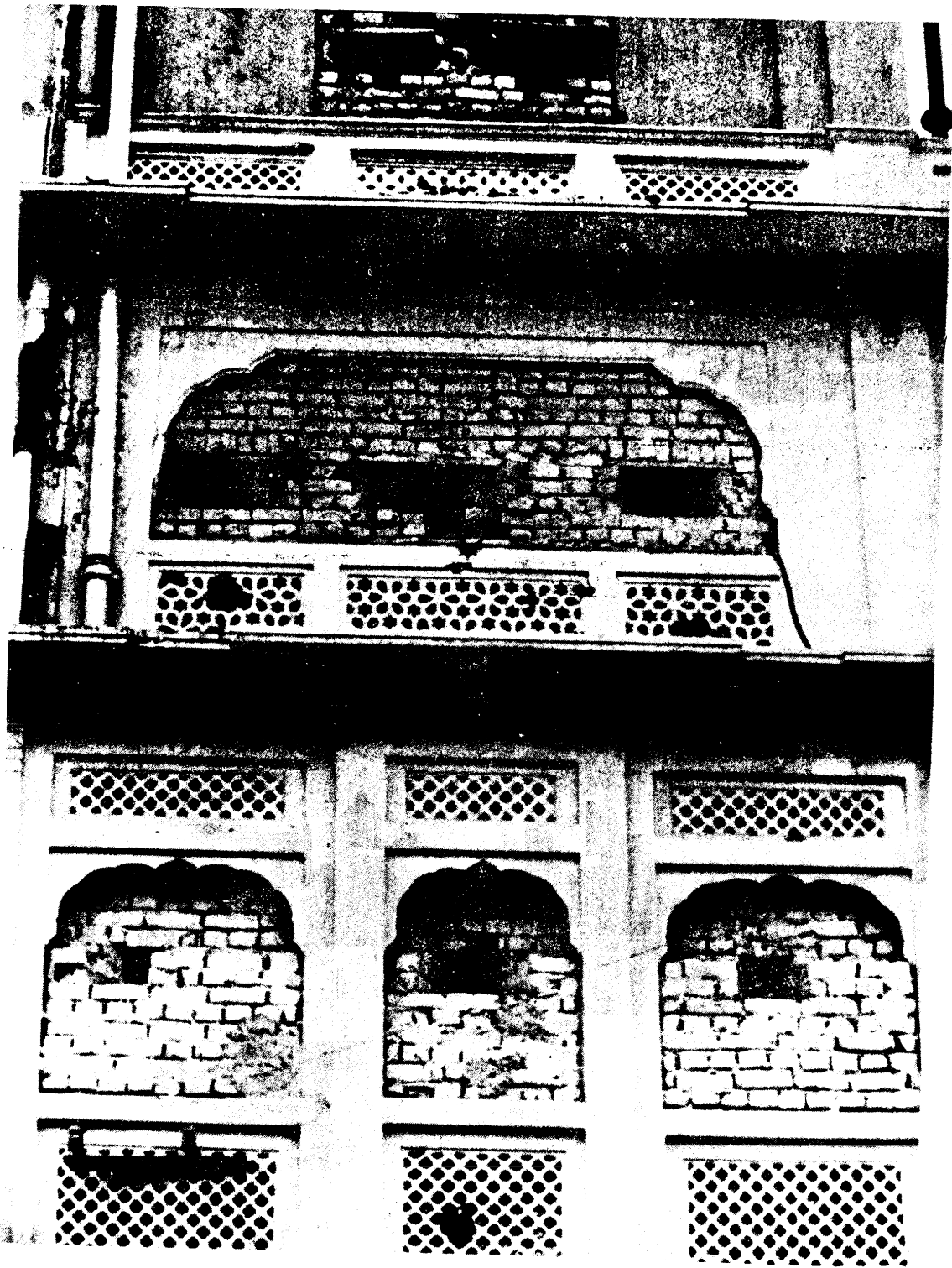
Fortification on the minaret covering the entrance to
Shri Harmandir Sahib.



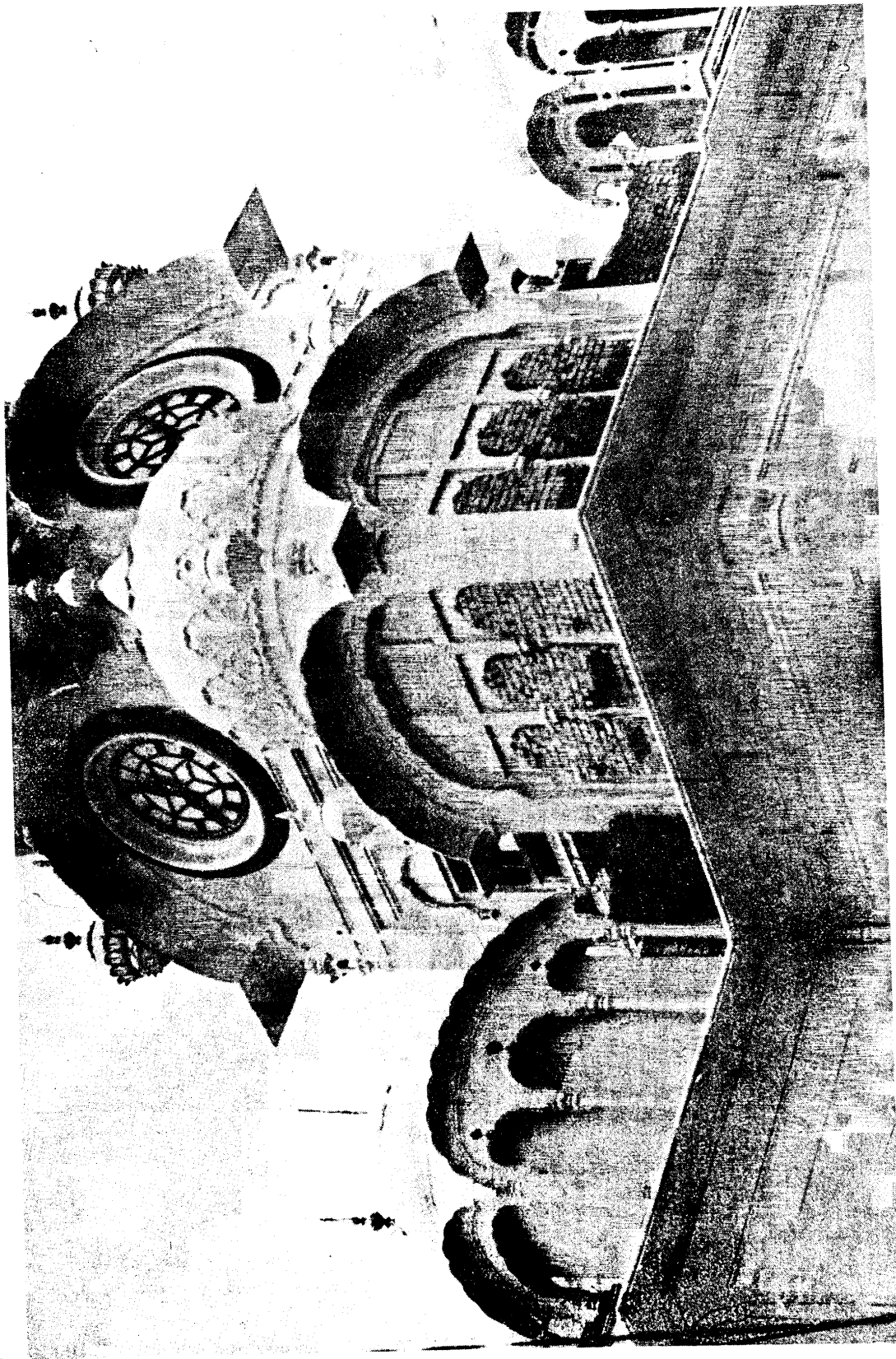
A loop-hole near minaret covering the main entrance gate of Baba Budha Ber Sahib and the parikarma leading to the Akal Takht.



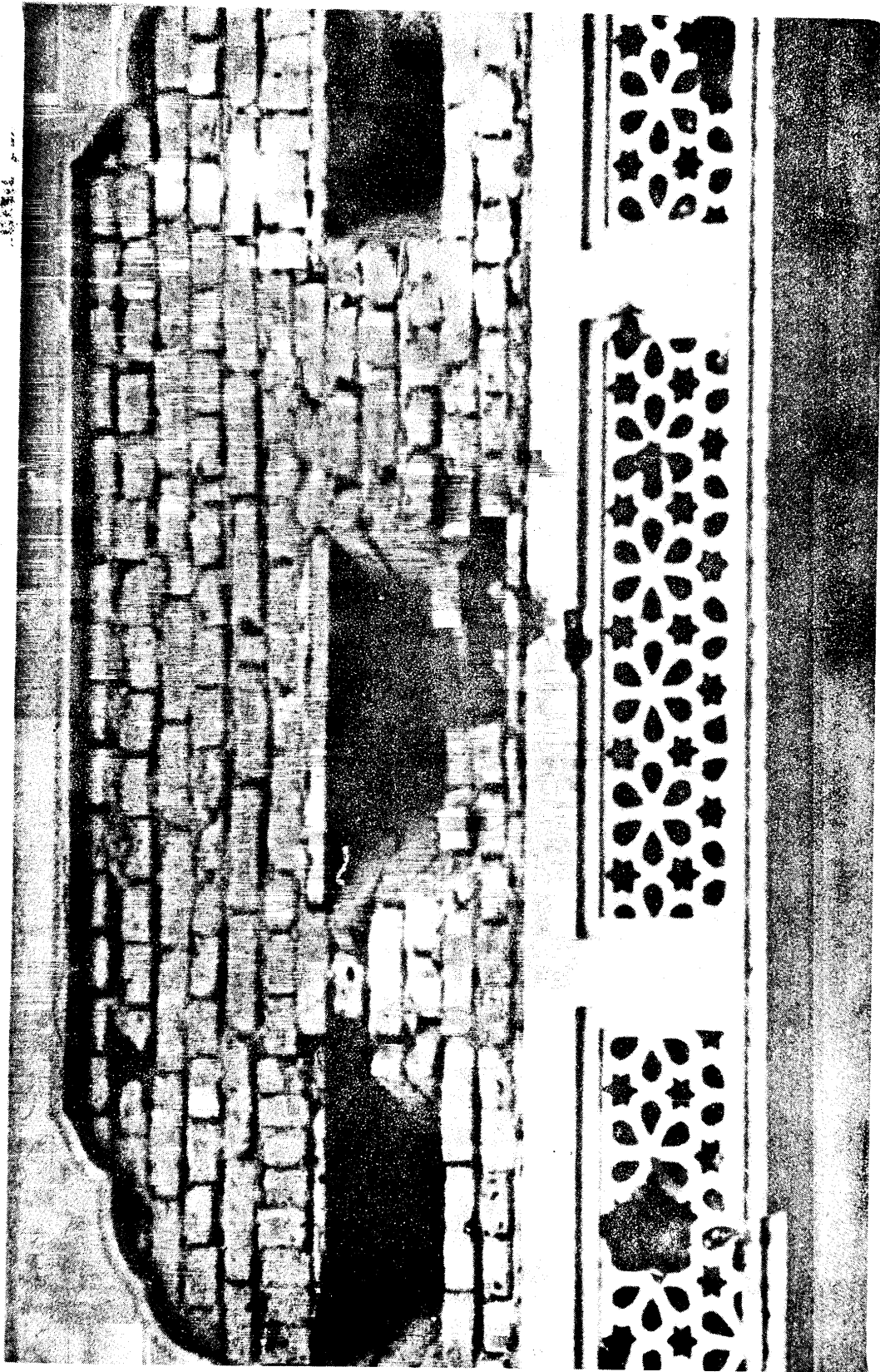
A series of sand—bagged and bricked fortifications on the rooftops of private houses with Jalianwala Bagh in white in the background cover all approaches leading to the Golden Temple.



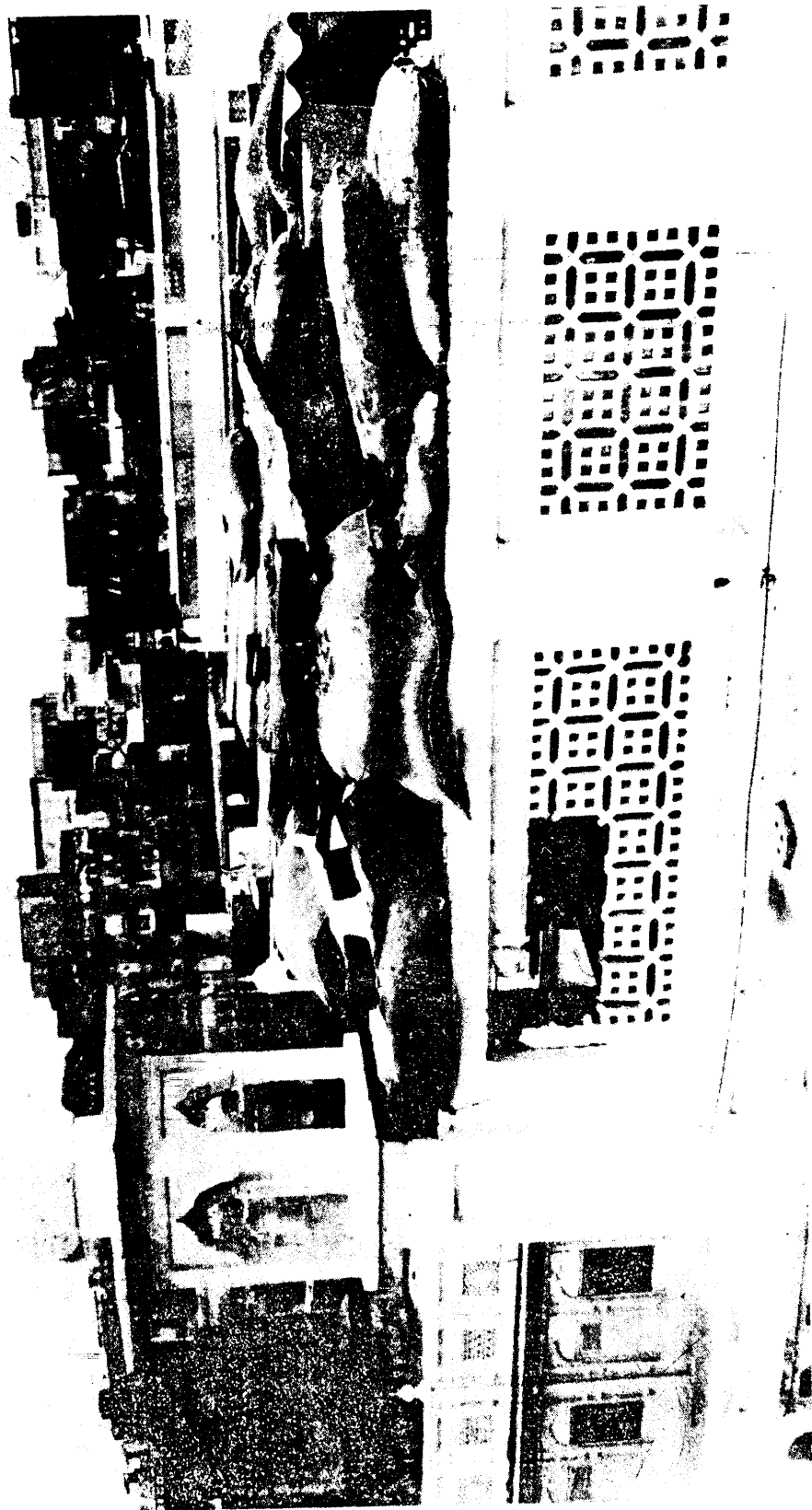
Three—tier fortifications at main clock-tower entrance to the temple.



Fortification at the main gate of the Golden Temple.



A close view of a brick fortification and slit holes covering the main approach to the main entrance.



Fortifications on the roof-tops of the Golden Temple complex and on the surrounding private houses.

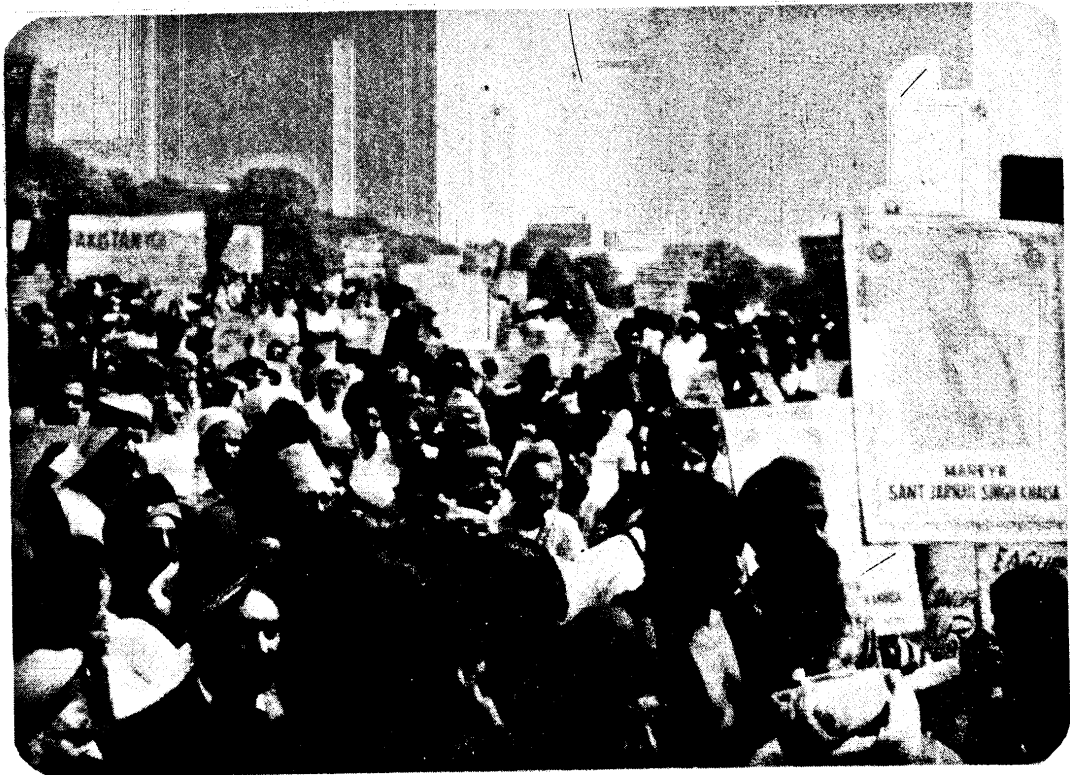


A double fortification on both sides of the parikarma on top of Dukh-Bhanjani-Beri that covers the entrance and approaches to Shri Harmandir Sahib.

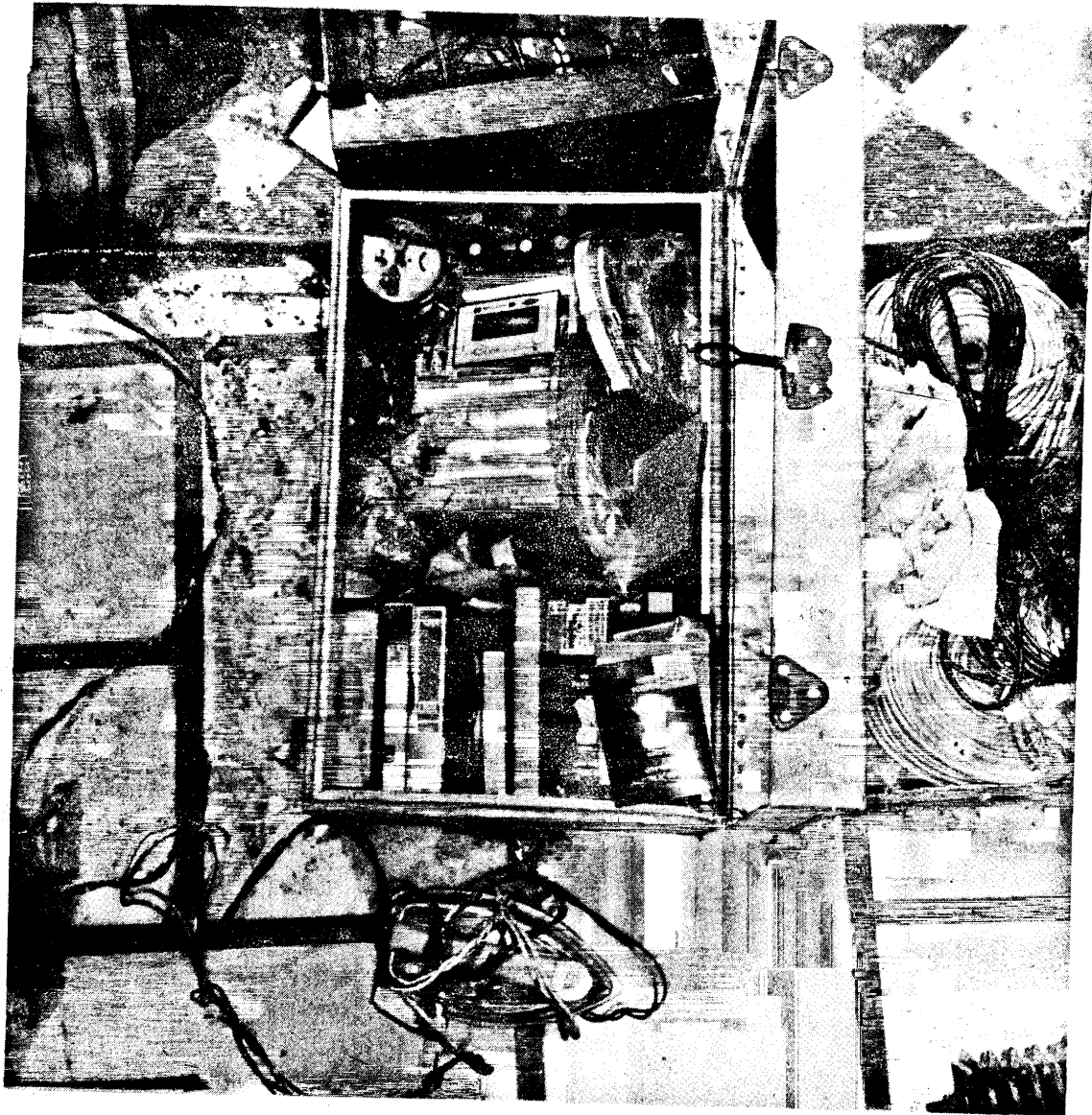
Demonstration of Sikhs, London, 10-6-1984.



THE USE OF DARK GLASSES



THE USE OF DARK GLASSES



Some passports, video recorder cassettes, film spools and explosives with accessories recovered from the terrorists in the area of Golden Temple. The terrorists were also in possession of wireless transmitter of Japanese make.

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